JPRS 77569

12 March 1981

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1109

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INTERNATIONAL

UL'YANOVSKIY ON ROLE OF NATIONALISM IN THIRD WORLD

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 80 signed to press 1 Oct 80 pp 2-6

[Article by Prof R. Ul'yanovskiy, doctor of economics: "National Liberation and Nationalism"]

[Excerpts] Lenin was the first Marxist to eye the national movements in the East and the colonial peoples as a source of the revolutionary upheavals of the capitalist world.

Hie greatest innovation was that he perceived the connection of these nonsocialist, bourgeois-democratic and nationalist movements with the struggle not only against imperialism but also against capitalism and with the fate of socialist revolution and evaluated them as a most important component of a world revolutionary process which could have an ultimate goal and direction--socialism.

The October Revolution demonstrated the correctness of the path [of social revolution and solution of the nationality question]. But subsequently it was precisely various forms of "national uprising" which became the main means of solution of the national-colonial question. And their spread in breadth and in depth led to the opposite influence of the anticolonial struggle on the socialist revolution and the struggle against capitalism, turned the colonial world into a "second front" of the struggle against capitalism and opened new possibilities of its erosion and destruction.

Proceeding from his theory of imperialism as a world movement which linked as one West and East, progress and backwardness and exploiter and oppressed nations, Lenin drew the novel conclusion of a single front of struggle against imperialism also in the West and in the East, tying in the anticolonial national demonstrations with the working class's struggle against capitalism, and formulated the new strategy of the communist movement.

Lenin's idea of different forms of alliance with national liberation movements depending on their nature presupposes a differentiated attitude toward anticolonial demonstrations and the nationalism of oppressed nations. Lenin's ideas on this score retain all their significance in our day, when the range of the anti-imperialist struggle in the colonial and dependent countries has broadened considerably in

connection with the appearance of new revolutionary possibilities at the final stage of the collapse of colonialism and imperialism.

Lenin warned primarily against a nihilistic attitude toward nationalism emerging on an anticolonialist basis and leftist attempts to cross it out and write it off as an allegedly reactionary force, although he was aware here of its historical and class insufficiency and its ultimate antagonism with communism.

The oppression of the imperialist powers did not amount and amounts even less today, under the conditions of neocolonialism, merely to denying the nations' right to self-determination, although this is its most outrageous manifestation. For this reason the anti-imperialist potential of the national movement and national tasks remain quite a long time after the formation of an independent state, although, of course, in the national liberation movement the class differentiation and, frequently, class opposition of the forces participating therein grow increasingly.

"In each bourgeois nationalism of an oppressed nation there is a general democratic content against oppression, and it is this content which we must unconditionally support...,"* Lenin wrote in the article "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination." The categorical assertion "in each nationalism of an oppressed nation" catches the attention. It presupposes a diversity of types of nationalism even of oppressed nations and their differences from one another.

It is a question of support not for nationalism but only the features of an anti-imperialist, anticolonial and antiracist, that is, democratic program in nationalism.

The message of V.I. Lenin and M.I. Kalinin to the Afghan king, Amanollah (May 1919), and the subsequent establishment of friendly relations with Afghanistan attested to readiness to agree to an alliance even with feudal circles which were operating from anti-imperialist, patriotic positions and under a religious banner in countries where more advanced anti-imperialist forces had not taken shape.

Despite Lenin's warnings, the vulgarizing idea, which is encountered in literature, of the reactionary nature of any nationalism endures. Any mention of the progressive, democratic and revolutionary nature of nationalism and of consistent national revolutionaries' rapprochement with scientific socialism prompts objections from the supporters of this view and is regarded by them as an encroachment on the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Yet the basis of this position is the arbitrary extension--impermissible from the viewpoint of Marxist-Leninist methodology--of propositions, entirely correct as applied to a society building or of victorious socialism, to colonial or postcolonial societies. Nationalism cannot be spoken of in general, in the abstract. Nationalism under the conditions of socialism and nationalism within the framework of communist parties is one thing, nationalism in backward agrarian countries which have risen up to the struggle for the assertion of their dignity, which has been trampled by

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*V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 25, pp 275-276.

imperialism, and where no communist movement exists or is extremely weak and cannot claim the role of leader of the nation is another.

A dangerous interpretation of the same nihilistic attitude toward nationalism is the endeavor to declare as followers of scientific socialism all the political figures of developing countries in whose ideological-political positions there are progressive tendencies. Lenin warned against this also. He called for a struggle against "embellishing the bourgeois-democratic liberation currents in the backward countries in the colors of communism."*

Turning to Lenin's inheritance helps us avoid a one-sided approach to nationalism.

And this is the question on which the fate of the modern national liberation movement in Asian and African countries will depend: given the absence or weakness of the working class, will the peasantry be able to defend its revolutionary position or will its revolutionary outburst quickly subside and it permit a liberal, national-reformist bourgeoisie to usurp political power?

On each occasion that we observe in present-day Asia and Africa a turn away from a revolutionary outlook toward national-reformism and from a socialist orientation and militant anticolonialism toward capitalism and a rapprochement with the imperialist powers, we can unerringly state that the working people were unsuccessful in defending their revolutionary position against the bourgeoisie. Is this not what happened in Egypt, when, after radical agrarian reform, after the undermining of the positions of Egyptian capital, after Egypt's conversion into the vanguard of the struggle against colonialism and after the proclamation of a radical program of social progress, there came a return to the unrestrained encouragement of private enterprise and an "open doors" policy for foreign capital, neglect of socialist ideals, betrayal of the Arabs' national interests and an alliance with American imperialism and Zionism.

The revolutionary, anti-imperialist nationalism of al-Nasir was replaced by the conservative reactionary, pro-imperialist nationalism of al-Sadat. And this occurred not least because of the absence of a party of scientific socialism capable of heading the working class and peasant masses and of keeping the country on the chosen path. To this should also be added a loss of vigilance in respect to the emergence and rapid development of a bureaucratic, particularly military-bureaucratic, bourgeoisie.

The peasant problem was put forward by Lenin as decisive for determining the paths of colonies' development. Addressing the communists of the Russian East, V.I. Lenin said: "...the majority of oriental peoples are typical representatives of the toiling masses, and not workers who have undergone the school of capitalist factories and plants but typical representatives of the toiling, exploited peasant masses suffering from medieval oppression. ...You are confronted with a task here which has not hitherto confronted communists of the whole world: relying on general communist theory and practice, you must, adapting yourselves to the unique conditions which do not exist in the European countries, be able to apply this theory and

*V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 41, p 167.

practice to conditions where the peasantry constitutes the bulk of the masses and where it is necessary to accomplish the tasks of the struggle not against capital but against medieval vestiges."*

This made special demands on the communist movement. It was a question of "translating" Marxism into the language of backward countries and of the Communist Party's consideration of the level of the peasant countries of the colonial East.**

The peasantry, according to Lenin, was to be at the center of attention of the revolutionaries and communists of the colonies.

Lenin, as mentioned, saw the oriental peasants as the main representative of a national movement capable of revolutionary action and the purveyor of democratic nationalism. But he was very far from idealizing the peasantry, from an admiration of backwardness and from hopes that it would be conducive to socialism.

Having noted the presence of democratic peasant nationalism, he hereupon also reveals in it the danger of national egoism and narrowness. And this is a lesson for today. However much we may value the positive influence of anti-imperialist nationalism from the viewpoint of the building of an independent state, we cannot fail to see that elements have long since crystallized in the depths thereof which would like to halt the liberation revolution, bring its further progress to a standstill, close off the road to the consistently revolutionary forces and occupy positions hostile to socialism. Such phenomena and processes may be found in almost every contemporary national liberation movement.

The task, which is extraordinarily interesting from the scientific viewpoint and important and complex from the viewpoint of politics, is to apply the very rich Leninist palette in the evaluation of national movements to current conditions, which provide an exceptional variety of forms of nationalism in the former colonial world. Without claiming an exhaustive amplitude and precision of classification excluding reciprocal extraneous features and symbioses, it might be possible to pick out the following: the anti-imperialist nationalism of the patriotic strata of the national bourgeoisie; the comprador nationalism of the new intermediary bourgeoisie; the nationalism of the military and bureaucratic bourgeoisie; openly chauvinist, anticommunist and anti-Soviet nationalism; and the nationalism of feudal and semifeudal elements advocating independence which merges in some respects with bourgeois nationalism. To this has to be added what is still the most important--national and revolutionary democracy.

The process of the rapprochement of revolutionary democracy with scientific socialism can be observed increasingly in this latter instance. However, we cannot fail to discern an ugly and, at times, dreadful phenomenon--nationalism as the product of the degeneration and disintegration of individual detachments of the communist movement and chauvinism concealed behind the banner of Marxism. Lenin clashed with such degeneration in the leaders of the II International. It led, as is known, to the conversion of social democracy into social reformism, the split of the workers movement and the transition of once revolutionary parties to counterrevolutionary,

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*V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 39, p 329.
**See ibid., vol 41, p 457.

anti-Soviet positions. Today we observe new and even more dangerous forms of the transition from communist to nationalist positions. Such is the essence of Maoism and the current CCP leaders' efforts to modernize it.

Despite all the fundamental differences between Maoism and the rightwing degeneration of European social democracy, we cannot fail to observe certain common features in their evolution. There was a turn away from Marxism to chauvinism in both instances. There is no doubt that the transition of the CCP leadership to positions of militant nationalism has brought about a departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism along a broad front in a number of Asian parties. The communist movement is dealing in the shape of the present CCP leadership with representatives of frenzied, egoistic, adventurist and provocative nationalism which is not only deprived at the present time of all anti-imperialist content but is also deliberately forming a bloc with imperialism and reaction throughout the world and going along with the undermining of the unity of the present-day revolutionary forces.

Such is the nationalism avowedly and completely hostile to proletarian internationalism and the result of treachery and degradation, which merits nothing but contempt and demands a constant, resolute and uncompromising struggle. This is nationalism in the place of communism.

But together with this there exists an abundance of forms of the nationalism which, according to Lenin, has a historical justification; it emerges in areas where the question of liberation from imperialism has yet to be settled. Our attitude toward it should be determined primarily by the presence therein of anti-imperialist potential. But its strength and prevalence and the attitude toward it of the people's masses must be taken into account. This is not the kind of phenomenon which can be stigmatized and wiped out. It is an objective phenomenon and a natural stage in the development of former colonies and semicolonies and the predominant force in them at the present time. Precisely in order to chop off the mass of workers, which constitute a powerful reserve and the sole dependable support of the revolutionary movement, from the most progressive, consistently anti-imperialist and anticapitalist currents bourgeois propaganda and the representatives of reactionary chauvinist circles are instilling in the people's masses the idea of the impermissiblity of joint actions between the supporters of Marxism-Leninism and anti-imperialist nationalism. This is one of the most important aims of the strategy of anticommunism in the developing countries. And we must always remember this.

We spoke earlier of the types of nationalism by class nature. And what a rich palette of political and ideological hues and accents contemporary nationalism has! In the last decade alone we have seen the above-mentioned pro-imperialist, comprador nationalism of al-Sadat and the nationalism in the Arabian oil kingdoms with its awakening capacity for defending national interests against imperialism and for resisting the American-Israeli-Egyptian conspiracy; the grotesque nationalism of the Central African "Emperor" Bokassa, whom Napoleon's laurels gave no rest, which is striking in its inner impotence; the bragging, but, as in the last two cases, by no means harmless nationalism of Idi Amin, who resorted to the implantation of a cult of naked force in Africa, but who was at the same time capable from time to time of anti-imperialist attacks; at the present stage the basically militant, anti-imperialist nationalism in Libya and, together with it, the restrained nationalism

of Tanzania, which is imbued with a spirit of anti-imperialism and is rendering assistance to the struggling peoples of southern Africa; and the revolutionary nationalism of the democrats who are oriented toward socialism, are in the vanguard of the struggle of many Asian and African peoples against imperialism and who are approaching a rapprochement with scientific socialism. These are only a few examples of the contradictory role of nationalism under contemporary conditions.

The Iranian revolution is of great interest in this respect. It is being carried out under the slogans of a revival of the ancient conservative principles of Islam and the establishment of justice and equality, as understood by Islamists. It took place and is continuing under the leadership of Shi'ite theologians, has assumed an anti-imerialist nature and has become a revolutionary shock directed against American imperialism. How did it happen that the purveyors of religious wisdom became the banner of the masses and what circumstances conditioned the revolutionary potential of religious nationalism?

Let us answer in the most abridged form. Iran had long been a center of political and social troubles in which acute dissatisfaction with imperialist interference in the fate of this ancient state and internal social contradictions and the protest of the working people's masses against the feudal and bourgeois upper strata were interwoven. At the start of the 1950's this dissatisfaction developed into a mass popular movement for the nationalization of the foreign oil companies which thoroughly undermined the positions of the Pahlavi dynasty. Only as a result of U.S. intervention were the fruits of this revolution destroyed and the shah's position strengthened. The most vigorous military, political, financial and economic assistance, the country's inundation with American specialists, primarily for the military and the intelligence service, and the mobilization of the internal forces of reaction permitted stabilization of the shah's regime for a time. It had enough strength to last a quarter of a century.

Outwardly it appeared to be flourishing. Oil sales enabled it to spend huge amounts on maintaining the army and the police. The production forces grew. Even social transformations and the so-called "White Revolution," which was aimed at the gradual liquidation of the vestiges of feudalism and clearing the path for capitalist development, were undertaken. The country became a military-political outpost of the United States in the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea.

The shah assumed the functions of protection of the neighboring reactionary regimes, which corresponded to the interests of imperialism and the shah's own aspirations to hegemony and the stifling of revolutions in adjacent countries. But the outward imposing appearance of the monarchy concealed insoluble contradictions. The growing capitalist accumulation broke up the masses of craftsmen and petty producers and pushed millions of peasants out of the villages. The cities were overflowing with people made destitute. At the same time officials and the nouveau riche enriched themselves unchecked. The contrasts between poverty and wealth were striking.

The attraction on a massive scale of foreign capital, primarily as the purveyor of modern equipment, technology and knowledge, connected with realization of the "White Revolution" led to the appearance of a new center of discontent. The national bourgeoisie and the strata which had become associated with it came to sense their

inequality and their subordinate position in relation to foreign capital, for which the authority of the shah, regarding it as his support, had created the most favorable conditions. The imperialists' capital investments assumed unprecedented proportions. Proceeds of the order of 400-500 percent on invested capital were usual. The United States was predominant in the economy, as in the military-political sphere.

The shah responded to the activization of the popular demonstrations and the increased anger by increased repression and a refinement of the military-police machinery. The shah's secret police, SAVAK, which could only be likened to the fascist Gestapo, bossed the show in the country and was merciless in hunting down all opponents of the regime. Thousands and tens of thousands of people paid with their lives for attempted opposition. The prisons were full to overflowing. In March 1975 the shah banned all political parties and decreed the creation of the so-called National Revival Party, which was designed to unite all strata of Iranian society, but which collapsed like a house of cards at the first demonstrations of the people's masses in the summer of 1978. Under the conditions of the cruelest police terror, when hundreds and thousands of representatives of the officer body, workers and the intelligentsia were tortured and thrown in jail, when all open political struggle was banned and when the activists of the Iranian People's Party who had escaped capital punishment had languished in prison for decades, such a conservative force as shi'ism became the sole possible form of opposition and a kind of autonomous political force, anti-imperialist and antidespotic in thrust, which expressed the attitude of the broad people's masses toward the shah's regime. Islam became the banner of a mass movement against the shah's dictatorship and the domination of foreign imperialism, at the same time preserving its negative attitude toward the left democratic movement and, primarily, the party of scientific socialism.

There is no doubt that the politicization of Islam is extremely contradictory and cannot be anything else given such a broad and contradictory social base. The consistently revolutionary forces of Iran, primarily its left democratic organizations, have no grounds for complacency. The conservative circles are increasingly directing their dislike precisely against the left democratic elements. Content with the shah's autocracy having been gotten rid of, the liberal bourgeoisie advocates the introduction of a constitutional regime and better conditions for interaction with foreign capital and the imperialist powers of the West, primarily the United States. It is concerned not only to preserve the capitalist system but also to cooperate on new terms with imperialism in the political and military spheres for it sees it as a guarantee of its privileges.

In Iran Islam remains the main banner of the anti-imperialist movement; in neighboring Afghanistan it has served as a means of rallying the counterrevolutionary forces which have risen up in arms against the progressive regime. The Afghan counterrevolution is receiving support from U.S. imperialism, the Chinese hegemonists, Pakistan reaction and reactionary Arab regimes for the struggle against the people's power. Here we have two faces of nationalism, in this case religious. The differences between them are great. How vulgar are the attempts of the reactionary circles of Iran, Afghanistan and the imperialist countries to portray matters such that the struggle being waged by the counterrevolutionary Afghan groups against the people's power is of the same nature as the anti-imperialist movement in Iran! A contrary direction of nationalism can be clearly discerned in Iran and Afghanistan, at least at the first stages of development.

Such is the complexity of the phenomenon of nationalism. It remains the leading political force behind which the masses still march in many Asian and African countries. There is no other choice than merely to take it in all its specificity, revealing with benefit to the revolutionary process its anti-imperialist and, where it exists, its antifeudal potential.

Returning to the evaluations of contemporary nationalism in the Afro-Asian countries in Marxist literature, we would note that if the idea of the increase in the role of the reactionary elements in bourgeois nationalism in line with the exacerbation of social contradictions is being corroborated in real life, we should not let pass unremarked the fact that the democratic content of the nationalism of politically oppressed or economically exploited strata, classes, national groups, tribes and nations is manifested with new force in the period of crisis of the neocolonial system. We should take account of both trends and concretely determine which of them is predominant in a given period, where it is leading, what kind of struggle is under way between them, which classes are displaying those trends and what the potential prospects of their development are.

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FACTORS AFFECTING ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THIRD WORLD

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 80 signed to press 1 Oct 80 pp 26-29

[Article by Doctor of Economics M. Volkov: "The Developing Countries: Contradictions of Economic Integration"]

[Text] There can hardly be an idea in the sphere of the liberated countries' economic development which has become so widespread and retained its undisputed nature for such a long time as the conviction of the need for economic integration within a regional or subregional framework. Currently almost every young state participates in at least one of the multitude of integration associations which have in the last decade embraced considerable regions of Asia and Africa. Among these associations there are no two which have an identical structure and which possess a similar operational mechanism. Given this respectable length of "service" and variety of forms, integration should apparently have led to appreciable results.

And yet there can hardly be any other experience of economic building in the Afro-Asian countries which has been so disappointing as economic integration. Noting the discrepancy between its actual results and the hopes which were invested in it and which continue to be invested in it, G. Pena Herrera, chairman of the UN Committee for Development Planning, has written: "It is paradoxical that at a time when cooperation between developing countries...seems particularly necessary, the majority of integration formations in the so-called third world is in a state of crisis or, at least, confusion."*

What, then, is impeding the implementation of the integration programs which appear to be an objective necessity for Asian and African countries? Under what conditions might it become a reality?

Objective Need

The need for the young states' economic integration is determined primarily by the fundamental community of conditions and tasks of their national economic development, which is geared to doing away with the consequences of colonialism and building an independent economy. At the same time these countries, even if they belong to a single region, differ greatly from one another, as a rule, in many economic indicators, including natural resources (particularly mineral raw material and fuel reserves, water resources, farming land and so forth), labor resources, industrial

*JOURNAL OF DEVELOPING PLANNING No 13, 1978, New York, p 73.

structure, transportation potential and others. This truly infinite variety may serve as the material prerequisite for mutually profitable cooperation in the form of economic integration.

The arbitrary, artificial border lines drawn by the imperialist powers in the course of the colonial division of the territories of the two continents or in the period of decolonization "shattered" historically evolved production complexes. Thus the textile factories concentrated in India were deprived of a raw material base since the cotton-growing areas passed to Pakistan; the single economic mechanism of East Africa was divided between Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania; and independent states which were very small in population, size of territory and market capacity emerged on the vast territories of former French West Africa, and their borders far from take account of the economic relations which had evolved earlier.

It should be noted in general that 80 developing countries, that is, the majority, have a population of less than 10 million each. This means severe limitations on their domestic market (including the potential market), and the greater the limitation, the more their progress along the path of economic development, particularly industrialization, is impeded. The exacerbating contradiction between the high productivity of modern technology and the narrowness of the market is one of the reasons for the tremendous underloading of the capacities of the young industry of Asian and African countries. As experience has already shown, the transition from import-substituting to export-oriented industrialization does not resolve this contradiction inasmuch as exports of finished products from the developing countries encounter barriers on the capitalist market which are difficult to surmount. In this case also only regional economic integration is a feasible way out.

Nor is it possible outside of the framework thereof to solve the most important problems of the developing countries' use of modern scientific-technical resources. On the one hand, certain projects of importance to them must inevitably cover the territory of several states. On the other, the limited nature of national scientific-technical potential makes the realization of such projects possible only with joint forces.

Finally, the economic integration of the developing states could be a means of strengthening their positions in the world capitalist economy, protecting their economies from the tyranny of the transnational corporations and contributing to a change in their place in the international division of labor. It is capable of defending the economy of the young states against the unfavorable impact of the competitive struggle and the various upheavals and crisis phenomena inherent in the world capitalist economy—if it has the appropriate mechanisms and sets itself these goals, of course. Consequently, the objective conditions and tasks of the development of the Asian and African countries demand an anti-imperialist direction of their integration groupings.

On the extent to which such groupings correspond to the enumerated factors will depend the actual results of their activity. It follows from what has been said that the use of the modest production potential which has been inherited by the young states for the building of a new economy requires the application of special forms of economic integration capable of assisting on the basis of this potential the development of both common and national economic structures with the strengthening of the recently acquired sovereignty.

Actual Practice

Yet historical evolution was such that the first integration associations in Asia and Africa, which appeared in the wake of the creation of such in West Europe, were largely a copy of them, primarily the Common Market. According to bourgeois economists and public figures, Afro-Asian included, this model of integration, which had become fashionable, was applicable on all continents. It was portrayed as a panacea for the "pains" and difficulties of economic growth caused by the limited nature of the domestic markets, the disordered foreign economic relations and the contradictoriness of the political aspirations of certain states. It was not fortuitous that the integration groupings which emerged in the developing world assumed the form of "common markets" and customs unions: the Council of Consent (which was formed in 1959 and which by 1976 included Benin, the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger and Togo), the Central African Customs and Economic Union, the East African Common Market, the West African Customs and Economic Union, which later became the West African Economic Community, the [Mano] River Union and the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (set up in 1976 by Burundi, Zaire and Rwanda) in Africa; ASEAN, which was founded in 1967, in Asia; the Arab Common Market, which has been in existence since 1971; and so forth.

However, as we have already shown, the objective need for the developing countries' economic integration is determined by no means by the factors which operated in the 1950's in West Europe or by the conditions which now characterize the EEC states. For this reason the "common markets" and customs unions are not, in our view, the most suitable form of economic integration in Asia and Africa.

Naturally, the actual results of this integration proved far more modest than anticipated, and in a number of cases its consequences were other than those for whose sake the corresponding associations were created (see table).

Average Annual Growth of Exports in the Period 1971-1975 (%)

Integration groupings	To the partner-countries	To other developing countries	To other countries
ASEAN (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines)	30.4	41.5	54.4
Regional Development Cooperation (Iran, Pakistan, Turkey)	28.3	39.4	42.2
Arab Common Market (Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Sudan)	9.9	44.3	34.5
Maghreb (Algeria, Morocco, Tunis)	26.4	35.5	33.9
West African Economic Community (Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Senegal)	33.1	21.2	20.8
East African Community (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda)	5.9	14.7	10.7

As we can see, in only one of the six most significant integration groupings of Afro-Asian countries of the "common market" or customs union type--the West African Economic Community--did exports to the partner-countries grow faster than to third countries. In the remaining five associations it was just the opposite.

The integration plans have increasingly been extended to the industrial sphere recently, it is true. Certain countries--Jordan and Syria and the ASEAN members, for example--have begun to undertake the coordination of their industrial development plans. Agreement was reached in 1977, in particular, on the fact that fertilizer on the basis of urea would be produced by Indonesia and Malaysia, superphosphates by the Philippines, soda by Thailand and diesel engines by Singapore. Each of these products, the organization of whose manufacture requires investments of the order of $250 million each, is intended for sale in all the ASEAN countries.

Joint industrial enterprises are being created in a number of Asian and African countries. Thus state establishments of the Ivory Coast and Ghana have a share in a cement plant in Togo; and private companies of Hong Kong, Singapore and Thailand are among the co-owners of the Thai Dairy Industry dairy firm. The Arab Mining Company began operation in 197[illegible] with a capital of $400 million, which is jointly owned by 12 African and Arab countries. Ten Arab countries created the joint Arab Livestock Company with a capital of $165 million. However, as a whole, industrial cooperation within the framework of integration associations is confined, as a rule, to a few incidental projects.

At the same time a conflict of interests and the partners' complaints about one another have emerged within certain associations. For example, in the Central African Customs and Economic Union it is believed that Cameroon, as the dominating country in it, derives the main benefits from the measures being implemented within the framework of the union; it receives, in particular, the lion's share of industrial investments, which is strengthening its position even further. Tanzania and Uganda have expressed dissatisfaction on account of the fact that expenditure on the functioning of the East African Community, like the benefits from its activity, is distributed unevenly--in favor of Kenya, economically the most developed partner. The community's highest body, in which the heads of state should be represented, has ceased to meet since 1970. Joint enterprises in certain sectors of the economy which constituted the association's industrial base broke up. Trade between Kenya and Tanzania practically came to a halt. The utter economic chaos in Uganda at the time of the Idi Amin regime and the military tension on the border with Tanzania over many years paralyzed Uganda's participation in the activity of the community, which ultimately ceased to exist. This same fate befell certain other integration associations--if not formally, then in fact.

On the other hand, the Arab Economic Unity Council, which was created in April 1974, has been distinguished by increasing activeness recently. Its activity is highly diverse: use of natural, financial and labor resources, liberalization of the trade terms, industrial cooperation, including the creation of multinational and joint enterprises and also the amalgamation of those already operating in the "federation," the coordination of development plans and formulation of the members' common positions in relation to the outside world.

The Arab Social and Economic Development Fund, whose capital was in excess of $1.3 billion in 1977, was founded in 1973. The Arab Currency Fund, which performs dual functions--those of a joint currency reserve fund and a body coordinating the members' currency-monetary policy--was created in 1977. The total capital of the multinational companies created in the process of the economic integration of the Arab world is valued at $6 billion, that is, it constitutes a very tidy sum.

Activity in the sphere of liberalization of trade is incomparably less vigorous. Only a few members of the Arab Economic Union Council have joined the Arab Common Market, where the growth of domestic commodity turnover is, as we already know, slower than the increase in the participants' trade with third countries.

This difference in the fruitfulness of the Arab countries' integration measures in the sphere of production cooperation and in the sphere of the "Common Market" corroborates the conclusion that, as distinct from West Europe, integration of the "common market" or customs union type does not correspond to the objective conditions and real needs of the developing countries.

Roots of the Contradictions

Regional economic integration is currently viewed as the highest organizational level of realization of the principle of collective self-reliance. However, the relative lack of success of many integration plans is undermining to a considerable extent the foundation of this principle, to which the developing countries attach such importance. "The countries of all the main regions of the developing world have this experience or the other in this respect," one of the latest UN publications on regional economic integration says, "but the hopeless dead ends of many such projects are far more clearly visible than any consistently intensifying process of cooperation.... The genuine difficulties and dangers being encountered by collective self-reliance are nowhere so obvious as in the available experience of regional economic integration."*

The causes of this situation are rooted not only in the above-mentioned incompatibility of the forms of economic integration and its objective tasks but also--and most importantly--in the intrinsically contradictory essence of this process such as we actually observe it today. It is essential to determine these causes in order that it may be possible to make effective use of this very promising instrument of international economic cooperation to solve the increasingly complex problems confronting the Asian and African peoples.

Although each integration association in the developing world has its own singularities and its success or failure is determined in each concrete instance by different factors, it is possible to highlight at least four common causes manifested to this extent or the other in all regions, including Latin America.

There are, first, the developing countries' involvement in the system of neocolonialism. The type of neocolonial division of labor in which the young states are assigned the role of economic periphery and their production structure is subordinated to the needs of the imperialist centers essentially cuts down the possibilities of the institution of mutual economic relations between neighboring Asian and African

*"Industry 2000. New Perspectives," United Nations, New York, 1979, pp 8, 66.

countries. The changes occurring in this division of labor, particularly the conversion of a limited number of developing countries from the agrarian-raw material to the industrial-raw material periphery of the world capitalist economy, are by no means conducive to the expansion of intraregional exchange and merely strengthen and multiply the economic relations between the periphery and the centers, that is, increase the industrializing young states' dependence on the imperialist powers.

A large part of the new industry of these states is oriented toward the markets of North America, West Europe and Japan, and the use value of their products does not correspond to the needs of other developing countries. And the enterprises which are built for the purpose of selling their products within the region, in the integration association partner-countries included, more often than not belong to transnational corporations and are used by the latter such that these associations become their antithesis and a channel for the expansion of foreign monopoly capital.

It is obvious that the implementation of integration measures objectively requires an essential modification of the developing countries' economic relations with the developed capitalist states which have evolved and which are growing under the influence of neocolonialist practice. At the same time truly effective regional integration must on no account be accompanied by the rupture of all economic relations with third countries--on the contrary, on the basis of such integration they should strengthen and expand and become increasingly profitable for the integration grouping participants. After all, joint resources in their optimum combination may be used for the development of these relations, which opens greater possibilities than those which association members possess individually. The experience of CEMA, whose activity not only does not impede but, on the contrary, contributes to the expansion of its participants' economic relations with third countries, is highly instructive in this respect.

Such a form of neocolonialism as the restrictive practices of the transnational corporations in technology transfer is making the development of the Asian and African countries' integration increasingly difficult. Many of the agreements concluded with them contain clauses directly prohibiting exports of industrial products to other developing countries, including neighboring countries, and to the partners in the integration groupings. It is not fortuitous that the main task of the Latin American states' Andean group was collective resistance to the neocolonialist practice of technology transfers. The Afro-Asian integration associations are as yet paying less attention to the formulation of common positions on these questions and also to the conditions of the activity of the transnational corporations as a whole. Yet there are frequent instances of the latter frankly sabotaging integration measures which, they believe, narrow the possibilities of their lording it as they please.

In addition to all else, the system of neocolonialism is consolidating throughout the world capitalist economy, including Asia and Africa, the monopoly of the Western monetary-exchange and credit infrastructure. This deprives the developing countries' integration associations of the credit resources and a credit-payments institutional network essential for their functioning and makes them dependent on the Western currencies, which are subject to crisis phenomena.

Finally, the neocolonialist barriers on the path of regional integration are becoming even higher as a result of the association of 57 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries with the EEC. The new 5-year agreement which came into effect in March 1980 grants the associated countries several more favorable terms of commodity exchange and also increases the amount of financial subsidies. But a high price has been paid for this: the division of the developing world into states associated and not associated with the EEC--a division which is severely undermining the possiblity of the young states' regional economic integration--has been deepened.

The second cause is the frequent and numerous conflict situations in Asia and Africa --a consequence of colonialism and current imperialist policy, which is aimed at splitting the developing world, recruiting allies therein, artificially inciting enmity between neighboring states and at supporting antipopular regimes and separatist movements. Many integration projects, particularly in the industrial sphere, of paramount importance, for without them the creation of a number of industrial sectors in Asian and African countries is impossible, do not come to fruition owing to political tension, which spills over into armed clashes from time to time; and the activity of existing associations is paralyzed.

The third cause, which is closely connected with the previous one, is to be found in the fact that in many developing countries there are very influential forces which, cooperating with the transnational corporations and with foreign capital in general, see regional integration as a threat to their position and their interests and for this reason oppose it in every way possible.

Integration is being resisted by the reactionary exploiter classes representing the precapitalist production modes: any economic and social progress is dangerous and unacceptable to them. Integration is also being curbed by the prevalence of traditional economic forms, including small-scale commodity production.

Such extra-economic factors as the force of inertia in the minds of people who suspect integration to be a threat to national interests, religious prejudice, particularly if the population of neighboring countries practices different religions, and the extreme nationalism of certain social circles also play a part.

The fourth cause--last but not least--is to be found in the very socioeconomic foundation on which the integration associations of the Asian and African countries are being erected. This foundation is private capitalist enterprise and the spontaneous market mechanism, which have already demonstrated their inadequacy in the solution of the economic and social problems confronting the developing countries.

Precisely owing to the capitalist content of the integration, its consequences frequently prove to be the antithesis of those for which its participants are striving: the growth of the unevenness of development and increased differentiation instead of an equalization of levels and the manifestation of elements of subimperialism instead of real equality and mutual benefit. This integration does not alleviate (although it is so intended) but intensifies the most acute social problems of the member-countries--the problems of the hunger and poverty of vast masses of the population, unemployment and inequality in income distribution.

Positive Action Programs

The examination of the causes of the contradictions of the regional economic integration of Asian and African developing countries shows that it is not the idea of integration itself which is baseless but specific forms and methods of it which do not correspond to the objective conditions and needs of the young states and that it is necessary to surmount considerable obstacles--external and internal--to realize its great potential. Yet in our day there is a strengthening both of the factors demanding integration and the factors making its practical implementation more difficult and sometimes turning it into a kind of new form of neocolonialism.

A positive action program, which incorporates integration in an overall system of economic cooperation, was put forward by the 1979 Havana conference of heads of state and government of nonalined countries. It provides for the creation of a solidarity fund of the nonalined countries for economic development, a development projects mechanism, a council of the associations of the developing countries producing and exporting raw material, an information center of the nonalined movement with respect to transnational corporations and other collective bodies.

The program lists roughly 20 specific spheres of economic and social development in which cooperation and integration could be realized: extraction and use of raw material, trade, transportation, industrialization, scientific-technical development, insurance, tourism, sport, the peaceful use of nuclear energy and many others.

Increasingly great attention has been paid recently both in theory and in practice to the so-called project approach to integration. It amounts to the construction of common (joint) enterprises by two or several countries without the obligatory creation of an all-embracing "common market" mechanism. This approach opens possibilities of industrial cooperation between countries not yet ready for more complete economic integration and lays the foundations for it in the future.

It is increasingly widely recognized that integration cannot be merely a "kit" of the means and mechanisms of economic cooperation unconnected with the social aspects of development. Many specialists in the young states consider socioeconomic changes not only goals but also the necessary prerequisites of effective integration.

Emphasis on the socioeconomic aspects of integration makes logical the conclusion that the economic integration of countries which are close in socioeconomic and political orientation, even those situated in different hemispheres, could have greater possibilities than the integration of neighboring states which are hostile to one another or which have dissimilar types of socioeconomic evolution.

Of course, countries with different social systems could participate in the regional integration associations. There are practically no obstacles here to the participation of capitalistically oriented countries in socialist-type economic integration, although it is considerably more difficult for a country of socialist orientation to participate in an integration association based on the principles of private capitalist enterprise. For this reason noncapitalist-type integration organizations have far greater prospects from this viewpoint in Asia and Africa.

The fate of economic integration in Asia and Africa is inseparably connected with the relaxation of tension worldwide, with the strengthening of peace and security on these continents and with the young states' joint struggle against imperialism's neocolonialist expansion, against racism and hegemonism and against militarization and the preparation for armed aggression.

The need to subordinate integration to progressive socioeconomic goals is reflected in the Afro-Asian countries' endeavor to organize economic cooperation with CEMA. Representatives of Angola, Afghanistan, Iraq, Laos, Mozambique, Ethiopia and South Yemen participated in the 23d CEMA Session, which commemorated the 30th anniversary of socialist integration. Congo and a number of other developing countries, including Latin American countries, have stated their desire to cooperate with CEMA. As distinct from association with the EEC, such cooperation does not prevent the Asian and African countries developing fruitful economic integration with one another.

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CSO: 1807

INTERNATIONAL

KAZAKH HISTORIAN ON IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WITH WEST

Alma-Ata LENINSHIL ZHAS in Kazakh 25 Oct 80 p 2

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences Docent Q. Bizhanov: "Implacable Front of Ideological Struggle"]

[Text] The CPSU is guided by Leninist precepts in its constant efforts to guard the peace. By this means it mobilizes the masses for the struggle for peace. It calls upon realistically-thinking groups in the imperialist nations to do likewise. "If you want peace, prepare for war." This ancient saying has been reversed by the party, which proposes the following slogan: "If you want peace, pursue a policy of peace, and fight for this policy."

It is quite logical that throughout the world the balance of the class struggle is shifting in favor of socialism, and the prospects for preserving and strengthening peace are increasing. Only on this basis is it possible to lessen international tensions, to decrease the danger of war, to establish mutually beneficial relations between nations, and to achieve appropriate changes in the direction of development.

Peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems applies to the area of ideology. There is no and can be no conciliation between the ideas communicating the aspirations of the worker class and the toilers and the ideas communicating the aspirations of the bourgeoisie. For this reason we offer a rigorous rebuff to efforts to foist off ideas of convergence.

Under conditions of increasing international tension, the brunt of the struggle between socialism and capitalism comes to a focus in the area of politics, economics, and ideology. "...The problems of the ideological struggle are becoming increasingly important; the truth about socialism is a powerful weapon in this struggle," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the Central Committee Report at the 25th CPSU Congress.

The consistent peace-seeking foreign policy of the CPSU, the success of the socialist countries, and at the same time aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism cannot help but influence the masses in the nonsocialist areas of the world.

The peoples of the entire world can see that socialism has saved mankind from the flames of war and that its promoting of social progress is a factor in bringing a firm peace. They are understanding more and more clearly that socialism is essentially a synonym for peace.

Exposing imperialism's policy of vicious opposition to a shift toward détente, it states that the concepts of the goal of destroying socialism at all costs has reached a crisis.

Bourgeois ideology, aware of the obvious progressive changes in the consciousness of the workers, endeavors to explain to its own advantage the significance of the situation in the world arena. Bourgeois ideologists try to transform the countenance of the processes which have brought a lessening of tension to the international situation.

In explaining the character and nature of détente, the CPSU consistently implements the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence. The party, explaining its political-class character, shows its appropriateness to and conformity with the present correlation of forces in the international arena, the laws governing the development of society, and the aspirations of all the world's peoples.

This political-class factor creates favorable external, international conditions for building communism. Precisely under conditions of peace, socialism takes the fullest and clearest opportunity to open up and show persuasively its historical superiority. The CPSU will not waver from its position of cooperation in the struggle on the road of proletarian internationalism, freedom of peoples, and social progress. At the same time it realizes that the transition to socialism by some countries is following its own path and timetable, is not under the influence of "harmful ideology," but on the contrary that society's legitimate development is being carried out in conformity with the aspirations of peoples. Another factor in the class policy of the CPSU is that it is grounded in the objective conflicts and fundamental differences between the two social systems, but it considers that these conflicts can be and definitely are manifested in peaceful competition rather than in an arms race and military rivalry.

Imperialist circles are continuing to endeavor to exercise a dominant position in determining people's destiny. This well-known pattern is understandable. The greater the achievements of the countries allied by socialist friendship to the USSR, the deeper the crisis of the capitalist system becomes and the greater the extent to which its interference increases in the worldwide politics of the masses, the greater the efforts by imperialist circles directed against socialism, against the worker class and the entire liberation movement, and against the forces which are consistently defending peace.

Bourgeois ideologists and politicians see the entire national liberation and anti-imperialist revolution as being from "Moscow's hand." This is a propaganda device and is totally false and misdirected. In the first place, imperialism's main propaganda thesis of a "Soviet danger" is nothing but a fairy tale intended to deceive the world community. In addition, it seeks to conceal the fact that the imperialists are meddling in other nations' affairs and to justify stepping up this interference.

In the period since the last war the United States has used military forces on 215 occasions in implementing its "policy of stirring up trouble." U.S. imperialism has been and remains an international gendarme, the sworn enemy of the freedom of the peoples of the entire world, and the center of anticommunism. U.S. ruling circles, openly claiming the role of world gendarme, have established a "rapid deployment force" for the purpose of implementing their interventionist aims.

U.S. policy to deploy nuclear missile weapons in Western Europe unexpectedly encountered the displeasure of the entire world community.

Playing to petit-bourgeois feelings and concerns, anticommunist propaganda seeks to portray the capitalist world as the fortress of "civilization" and "freedom." Imperialism has nothing to do with civilization and freedom. It is in fact the sworn enemy of civilization, humanism and social progress, and the aim of this propaganda is to defend the imperialist system, a system of exploitation and oppression. Socialism alone is grounded on the social basis of the true meaning of genuine humanism, advancing civilization and genuine freedom, protecting against the predations of imperialism, and securing the comprehensive development of every individual.

Anticommunism is an ideology which is destructive to the people and has no positive content whatsoever. It thrives on sociopolitical ignorance and relies on deception by bourgeois ideology, on instinct, and on persisting petit-bourgeois ideas. The social foundation of anticommunism is monopoly capital united with the edifice of state.

Imperialism has created an unprecedented propaganda machine, an entire industry dedicated to influencing the masses. It has become a decisive means of exerting ideological influence on the toilers of the capitalist countries and of exercising political oppression. In addition, the propaganda edifice seeks to exert influence on the socialist countries, the nonaligned nations, and on the entire world. The U.S. Information Agency [sic] alone employs more than 20,000 propagandists for conducting the ideological struggle against the USSR and the socialist nations. It operates a total of 200 centers in foreign countries, which publish 150 magazines and newspapers in foreign languages. U.S. imperialism spends more than 500 million dollars each year on anticommunist propaganda.

The principal instrument of anticommunism is radio. Radio Free Europe and Deutsche Welle beam propaganda at the socialist countries. Voice of America broadcasts 70 hours of news each week in numerous languages for the peoples of various countries. Bourgeois propaganda enthusiastically makes use of the activities of Maoist and Zionist circles, which are blind instruments of imperialist reaction and in the eyes of world public opinion are sworn enemies of international détente, as well as the activities of all kinds of degenerates who have left socialist countries.

These transformations, however, are forcing the bourgeoisie to change its methods of struggle and sometimes its tactics. They deliberately exaggerate our few difficulties and shortcomings, and they try to play down our accomplishments as much as possible.

Western propaganda activities resort to "sociological propaganda," distorting facts and events, disseminating ideas which are alien to socialism, and seeking to show the superiority of the Western way of life. However, imperialist propaganda unexpectedly found itself in another crisis in the face of world opinion. It is clearly obvious that there is no future for propaganda which is openly hostile to socialism.

We are faced with a powerful and experienced adversary in the ideological struggle. Therefore it was stated at the 25th Party Congress that "there is no place for

neutrality and conciliation in the struggle between the two worlds," and "our country must display the highest political vigilance, with aggressive, timely and persuasive ideological work, offering a prompt and timely rebuff to acts of hostile ideological sabotage."

The specific features of our current ideological-political work proceed from all present conditions. Under conditions of détente, high demands are imposed on our country's ideological work. The foundation of this work is to link the struggle on the road to peace with the socialist significance of all our ideological activities.

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ROLE OF EASTERN RELIGIONS IN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENYY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 80 signed to press 11 Nov 80 pp 111-122

[Article by I.L. Andreyev: "Religion and the National-Liberation Struggle in the Countries of the East"]

[Text] The subjective factor of the revolutionary process in the area of national liberation possesses a structure in which an important place is occupied by the persistent religiosity of the overwhelming mass of the population. Hence the importance of the question of the place and role of religion in the national-liberation movement of our time and on its position in relation to its cardinal problems.

It would be a concession to idealism to look for an answer to this question by restricting oneself solely to an analysis of the religions themselves. "Great historical turning points," F. Engels emphasized, "have been accompanied by changes in religion...."[1] The present very great historical turning point--the entry of mankind into the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism--cannot but help affect the content, structure and developmental tendencies of all types of religious outlook. Under the conditions existing in the countries of the East, the spontaneous movement of social protest of an anticolonial, antiimperialist character and the forms of radical social-economic changes in this or that degree rest on the egalitarian component of proto-orthodox systems of the respective religions and the related ideological struggle.

Speaking in general, how can such a particularly conservative structure as religious ideology and a fatalistic view of the world "fused" into the traditional way of life --against the background of an unusual exacerbation of need and calamities and the inability of the "leaders" to resolve outstanding social and economic problems--so adapt itself to the social-psychological mood of the population as to objectively come out with a force consolidating the masses in their elemental revolutionary upsurge? Analyzing the historical past of Western Europe in the epoch of transition from feudalism to capitalism, R. A. Ul'yanovskiy elicited the opinion that 'religious ideas can become revolutionary only under two conditions: they are adopted by the genuinely revolutionary forces of that society; second--these forces lack the possiblity of turning to a secular class outlook, capable of gaining the consciousness of the masses, because it--this outlook-simply did not exist."[2]

Incidentally, in regard to the religious component, which has been so very clearly revealed in recent years, of mass social-protest movements in the countries of the East, no basis exists for anything mystical. "The appearance of political protest under a religious cover," V. I. Lenin wrote on the peasant sector, "is a phenomenon characteristic of all peoples at a certain stage of their development," even under conditions of total religiousness of the popular masses in backward agrarian Eastern countries. "The workers party cannot, without violating the basic tenets of Marxism and making a tremendous political mistake, pass over those revolutionary elements that exist among the peasantry and not provide support to these elements."[3]

The dissatisfaction of the socially oppressed masses, manifested in religious form, inevitably draws a response from a part of the clergy sincerely sympathetic to the suffering of the laboring masses; they frequently boldly stand up against the despotism of the "earthly" powers in the form of heresies and sects and sometimes under slogans of clerical socialism--Christian, Islamic and so forth. On the whole, the phenomenon of religious opposition to an antipeople's political regime seemingly appears as a characteristic feature of a crisis prerevolutionary situation, especially in countries with a predominantly peasant population and mass, strong religiousness. "The ferment among the clergy," V.I. Lenin wrote, "its desire for new forms of life, the separation of clericals, the appearance of Christian Socialists and Christian Democrats, 'dissidents,' members of sects and the like: all this serves the purpose of revolution as never before...."[4]

The objective ambiguity of the political positions of the religious figures of the East is clearly manifested in our days. The all-people's struggle against the shah's regime, as well as American domination in Iran, and at the same time repeated attempts to push the Sunnite clergy of Afghanistan against the revolutionary power, various trends of Muslim democrats and Islamic socialists in Arab countries, their disputes with dogmatic feudal interpreters and relativistic bourgeois reformers of the Koran--such are the social-political metamorphoses and contradictions of Islam. If one turns to Buddhism, for example, the history of Burma has had a profusion in recent decades of subtle attempts on the part of conservative and reactionary forces under the illusory slogan of creation of a "Buddhist state" to influence the masses of the believing population against progressive social-economic changes, demagogically announcing nationalization of private enterprises because of violation of the commandment "thou shall not steal," accusing the Revolutionary Council of the fact that while turning over all forces to the protection of socialism it is not protecting, exerting pressure on the population during elections and so forth. In turn, in the fundamental ideological document of the Revolutionary Council and the ruling party--"Philosophy of the Party of the Burmese Socialist Program," one of the sources of which is dialectical materialism, many of these stemming from it are described with careful adherence to classical Buddhist terminology and symbolism, as they are aimed at bringing all workers into the field of implementation of noncapitalist development of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma.[5]

The classical writers of Marxism-Leninism have far-sightedly warned of the natural desire of exploiters, reactionaries and counterrevolutionary forces to break up, oppose and bring into collision the masses and the political forces representing their interests by the substitution of social antagonisms and class struggle for religious discord and religious war. Communists are obliged to take such a danger into consideration and are striving to neutralize it. (See for example, the summary document of the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of a Number of Countries of Tropical and Southern Africa.[6])

In connection with the aforesaid, in the investigation of the place and role of Eastern religions in the contemporary national-liberation movement, the methodological approach, consisting of a preliminary analysis of the specific position of Eastern religions in contemporary world literature, the ideology and social psychology, and also their place and structure in the social life of former colonies and dependent countries of Asia and Africa achieve important significance.

1. Religion in many countries of the East (Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and so on) has remained till now multifunctional; in particular, it is a most important regulator of social activity and of the predominant, at least the biggest mass and also all-inclusive consciousness, a psychologically habitual cover for any social-cultural traditions and imperatives, a pivot of world perception, a sort of everyday gnosiology, actively aspiring to monopoly in the explanation of the relation of people to each other and their relation to God (through the fulfillment of His commandments, as well as cult procedures) and the relation (adequate in principle) of God to them.[7]

Pointing out the integrating role of religious behavior and religion institutions included in a fixed stereotype of the spiritual culture of a people (or ethnically related peoples), the Lithuanian philosopher Ya.V. Minkyavichus writes: "If religion is a phenomenon of cultural community, if it permeates the system of values and ideals of this community, it fulfills thereby a regulatory and normative role in the behavior of the people of the given society. Passing from generation to generation, it stably enters the traditional culture of the people and becomes a powerful factor in the socialization of people." The given characteristic fully applies to the contemporary religions of the East, particularly to Islam. "In synthesizing religion, morality, law and politics, Islam assumes the form of a totalitarian ideology, which makes it difficult for secularization of social consciousness, social-political institutions and culture by "Islamic" peoples, not to speak of the sphere of everyday life and communications of "coreligionists," as communities in Islamic countries do not possess an ethnic but a creedal character (no less than in India.)"[8]

A number of other investigators also emphasize the extremely significant "role of Islam in the creation of a social and cultural system, providing integration of the population, which is most diverse in its ethnic characteristics,"--and this in the absence of a special church institution through the depersonalization of the "One God" by putting Him beyond the limits of not only human society but also of the world as His "creation."[9]

In the Near and Middle East, Islam, becoming attached to many popular customs, has penetrated the everyday consciousness, living conditions, culture, way of life; in Iran, for example, no civil legislation existed until the '30s, and the Shariat regulated all aspects of social and personal life. It is not surprising that the basic catchword and prospects of spontaneous movements of social protest in the Muslim world were declared to be "Islamic justice," which is treated quite broadly right up to the declaration (in the spirit of the antibourgeois mood of the masses) by the prophet Mohammed "the first socialist and revolutionary" and of Islam "the socialist religion."[10] The fact is that the majority of his followers simply cannot imagine a way to a better, just future, especially to socialism, outside of or without religion.

Muslim theory affirms that all other forms of world outlook (including Marxist and bourgeois), in explaining human life from some one side, have been transformed into an inferior ideology and have become a cause of enmity and unrest in the world, and only Islam is an all-embracing philosophy of life, capable of solving human problems.[11] They see Islam's distinctive characteristic trait consisting of the fact that "unshakeable monotheism and its implementation in social life mean the elimination of all contradictions and forms of discrimination."[12]

In point of fact, Islam like any other religion is full of internal contradictions. Scholars number them to be about two hundred. It is this contradictory character of Islam, which makes it possible for both the exploiters and the exploited in turning to Allah to find what they "need" in terms of their concerns. The oppressed masses exist in the illusion that Islam protects their interests and at the same time the oppressors find in it justification for parasitic existence in luxury at the expense of the labor and poverty of their coreligionists.

However, an interpretation of the broad spectrum of Islam's "nonreligious" functions, in the spirit of which Mohammedanism and the "Islamic path of development" go far past the limits of culture and way of life and consist of a special social order, a specific "third" analog of opposing social-economic systems of contemporaneity--capitalism and socialism--and that in this sense Islam is "above" Christianity, Judaism and other religions,[13]--such an interpretation is manifestly idealistic.

2. Under the specific conditions of the ethno-tribal mosaic and fragmentation and also lack of development of secular forms of culture, religion can be a real spiritual and ritual and political force, a form of social community that is more significant than community or clan traditions. Not without reason, in many of the liberated countries consolidation as a political factor is frequently stronger than ethnic and even more so class consolidation. Thus, J. Nehru emphasized that in India "religious feelings are significantly stronger than national," that "in political questions the place of religion has been occupied by so-called communality--a narrow-group psychology depending on the religious community but in reality interested in obtaining political power and privileges for the interested groups."[14]

On the basis of the factor of the deep religiousness of the Indian peasantry, M.K. Gandhi knew how to talentedly express the tasks and prospects of anticolonial struggle in the symbolic terms of sarvodaya (society of universal prosperity) and svadesa (retention of traditions while gradually filling them with a new social content) and also ahimsa (path of nonviolence) and satyagraha (tactics of peaceful protest and resistance), which, because of its similarity with the moral-religious principles of Hinduism, was accessible to the understanding of the population. It is namely under Gandhi's slogans of nonviolent, peaceful means of mass anticolonial struggle by the Indian people through a powerful political movement, organization of demonstrations, strikes, boycotts and the like that the expulsion of English troops and declaration of the country's political independence was achieved. The features of Gandhiism in consonance with socialism could be reduced to obligatory labor for everyone, elimination of exploitation of man by man and of the antagonistic division of society into classes, ownership by workers of the means of production, the distribution of benefits on the basis of labor--that is, egalitarian factors to be found in any orthodox religion in precapitalist society.

"In a broad sense, our goal," Nehru emphasized, "is the creation of a state of prosperity and a society of the socialist type in which no big differences exist in income and equal possibilities are to be found for all."[15] In the field of foreign policy, Nehru was one of the creators of the concept of nonalignment.

The social views of M. Gandhi, which resemble radicalism in intent but at the same time aspire to the transcending class character of the Muslim "third way" may be explained by their petty bourgeois nature. Moreover, it singles out in the contemporary Islamic political movement, aside from its wing which is petty bourgeois by class affiliation and anti-imperialist in its ideological accents and which has definite revolutionary-democratic tendencies, a bourgeois-landowner trend with an anti-communist ideology playing a counterrevolutionary role.[16]

The creedal situation in Tropical Africa is quite complex and unique. Its basic components are: local ethno-tribal cults, Christianity, introduced by missionaries, and Islam. "Islam," the French African scholar B. Olya states, "is being spread at the present time with gigantic steps and without doubt much faster than Christianity," but although the "Islamization of Africa is proceeding on a broad scale, it does not attain great depth, for which reason the old gods do not exist at all badly."[17] "Christianity and Islam are today competing for the souls of believers. In this competition, Islam has the edge," B.I. Sharevskaya notes, stressing in addition that "despite attempts by certain circles of the intelligentsia--adherents of the concept of Negritude to revive local traditional cults and to give them a new content, autochthonous religions lose their place and meaning."[18] Characterizing the difference between local cults and Christianity and Islam, the Ugandan investigator Okot p'Bitek writes: "In African religions little place is given to the beginning and end of the world. They devote considerably more attention to how to achieve a good life here on earth now...."[19]

And whereas L.S. Sengor is in essence calling for a Utopian synthesis of extrahistorical moral values of the "Negro-African soul" with Western European culture, that is, for a bourgeois reformation of traditional religions, K. Nkruma, on the other hand, is trying to create a humanistic fusion of native African traditions, rooted in the local soil, and Christian and egalitarian components of Muslim philosophical traditions into a complex ideology which he calls a philosophy of consciousness, consciencism.[20]

In countries of socialist orientation, the basic features of religious policy vary significantly depending on whether the great majority of the population is included in this or that of the three creedal communities. In particular, in Tanzania, the Congo and Benin the principle of tolerance and neutrality in regard to religion has been proclaimed, with the proviso that forbids its use by the forces of reaction. At the same time, in Guinea, one of the 16 African countries where Muslims constitute the majority of the inhabitants (practically the entire population), a National Islamic Council was created in 1976, its membership including the leaders of the party and the government; the task of transforming religion into "one of the forces of the people's revolution was also proclaimed."[21]

3. The religions of the Afro-Asian countries continue to be spiritual-social formations of the precapitalist type and in this sense retain a certain anticapitalist

potential. Of course, the destruction of the traditional autarkic economy prompts corresponding attempts at transformation of what would appear to be fatally static Eastern religion and the use of the feelings of believers and religious mechanisms of intercourse, behavioral stereotypes for directly opposing political aims. Eastern religions, however, did not know of a bourgeois reformation to the degree that it was experienced by Christianity.

As for Islam, the tendency for its transformation in the bourgeois spirit can be seen without difficulty in discussions among contemporary Muslim theologists and politicians on the "Islamic state" and a "Muslim (toukhidnaya) economy," on just hereditary law and "true" ownership, on the zakat and riba as voluntary donations by believers and the prohibition of parasitic usury among them and on the condemnation of monopolies as contradicting the principles of Islam.

Thus, replacing the contradiction between labor and capital that was aggravated with the development of capitalism with the contradiction between production and consumption, Islamic theoreticians in countries of capitalist orientation defend the right of private ownership as being fully in accord with the spirit of the Koran. At the same time, they state that only the well-off can fully fulfill their religious obligations: to pay the tax-donation for the benefit of the poor and orphans, to give out alms, to carry out the hajj--the pilgrimage to Mecca and the like, that the prohibition of usury does not apply to interest on a loan within limits that do not hinder the development of national enterprise and the economy of the country as a whole, that private ownership can be "lawful" when created by a true Muslim with his labor or inherited in accordance with the norms of the Shariat and possibly "unlawful" when not meeting these conditions (usually foreign) and therefore subject to nationalization.

In the works of the Pakistani ideologists K. Iqbal, Rafi ud-Din, Sumar and others, the thought was developed, based on the declaration of similarity of the principles of Mohammedanism and capitalism, of Islam being an effective means of maintaining an equilibrium between labor and capital and as a "religion of capitalism."[22] "The law of private ownership," as asserted by Maolan Maodudi, "is a law of nature since ancient times. Islam, being a religion of nature, cannot acknowledge any other law."[23]

The intensive belated attempts of the bourgeois reformation of Islam under the conditions of capitalism's crisis as a social-economic formation have been running into serious psychological-ideological hindrances, the basis of which in the sphere of social life appears to be the alternate prospect (in distinction to the simple one existing in Western Europe) of continued progressive development of the liberated countries in the present epoch, the objective "forking" of their orientation toward capitalism or socialism.

Therefore, for states of progressive orientation as well as for communist, avant-gardist and revolutionary-democratic parties of the Muslim countries, there is a characteristic turning to other, antiparasitic and antiexploiting sides of the internally, deeply contradictory texts of the Koran, reflecting the social struggle of the epoch of their compilation and early interpretations. Trying to base themselves on the authority of Islam, both the progressive elements of the clergy and the revolutionary democrats of a number of Arab countries actively employ Muslim

terminology; they rely on the specific character of the philosophy of believers and emotional images of mythological consciousness in explaining to the popular masses the character and tasks of the antiimperialist struggle, antibourgeois measures, socialist orientation of development and resort to a religious interpretation of reforms from the point of view of their consonance with the egalitarian principles of Islam.

And although Islam never created (and could not create) an egalitarian society of "equals" in the 14 centuries of its existence, the attempts of progressive forces to base themselves on it, utilizing it as a social-psychological core and an organizational-political component of transitional forms of revolutionary changes in Muslim countries and regions possess a serious objective foundation.

Naturally, we should not underestimate the possibilities of the rather sharp rivalry of the higher clergy and bourgeois circles, the "mosque" and the "market," and also of the considerable danger for progressive circles from the reactionary Muslim underground, the nucleus of which is the deeply secret infamous "Muslim Brotherhood" with its ramified network in a whole series of countries and the Basmach movement, existing under cover of religious slogans.

The question of the activities of the "Muslim Brotherhood" involving more than half a century has practically not been studied by scholars. We know that this political-religious organization, created in 1929 in Egypt by Hassan al-Bannoy, announced as its mission the formation of a theocratic Muslim state and the restoration of the caliphate, denying in principle any possibility of modernization and any innovations pertaining to Islamic doctrine and also being against political parties as seemingly "cleaving" a nation. Political terror became the means of attaining these aims. In 1945 and in 1948, members of the "Muslim Brotherhood" killed two Egyptian prime ministers. In 1954, they made an attempt on Nasser's life and before that tried, using his influence, to get into power. After this, the sinister "brotherhood" was banned in Egypt and six of its chief leaders were executed by sentence of the court. The "Muslim Brotherhood" again appeared on the political horizon of the country with slogans of struggle against communists and Nasserists following Sadat's coming to power; the latter, according to press reports, has maintained ties with them since 1940.

In Syria, the bloody terror of the "Muslim Brotherhood," which tried to foment a civil war in the country between various religious groups according to the type of events in Lebanon, was energetically suppressed in 1980. Appearing with a report at the Seventh Regional Conference of the Party of Arab Socialist Rebirth held in Damascus December 1979-January 1980, General Secretary of the Party of Arab Socialist Rebirth, President of the Syrian Arab Republic Hafiz al-Assad called the "Muslim Brotherhood" heretics and decisively emphasized: "We shall tirelessly fight against the enemies of Islam, because this group has nothing in common with Islam. They are only a band of murderers and saboteurs." Soon after the People's Council of the Syrian Arab Republic adopted a law of most severe measures, including the creation of special military field courts, against the terrorists who do not put down their arms and give themselves up within the month (for those within the country) or two months (for those outside its boundaries). On the request of prominent religious figures, SAR President Hafiz al-Assad extended the period of the ultimatum for another 20 days. In this period, several hundred members of the "Muslim Brotherhood"

gave themselves up to the authorities; their testimonies helped to disclose a network of underground stores of arms and ties of the "brotherhood" with the intelligence services of the United States, Israel and Egypt. The social basis of the "Muslim Brotherhood" movement, in the opinion of general secretary of the Syrian Communist Party, is the big and middle bourgeoisie, using as its shock force fanatics from petty-bourgeois and lumpenproletariat strata.[24] It would appear that the latter belong not only to ultra-right but also to ultra-left, Maoist groups.

Incidentally, in Indonesia, reactionaries in the fall of 1965, appealing to orthodox Islam, succeeded in "mobilizing and directing against the Communist Party tens of thousands of fanatic Muslims, lumpens and popular masses deceived by army propaganda," setting as their outright and direct goal "the physical and total destruction of the communist and democratic movement," and on this basis the removal of the antiimperialistically inclined President Sukarno.[25]

The employment of Islam as a means of active political struggle by moribund social forces for the restoration of lost wealth and privileges was clearly demonstrated in Afghanistan. In a country with a population of about 15 million people, there are more than 15,000 mosques (545 of which are in Kabul), more than 8,000 shrine-tombs and "holy places"--zirats, while the number of priests and theologians exceeds 250,000. The forces of reaction, counterrevolution and imperialism try to use for their purposes the religiousness and illiteracy of the masses of the population. They clothe appeals, slogans and the terror of Basmach bands in sayings that are understandable to the people (ayats and suras) from the Koran, declaring the ideas of revolution and class struggle as being "alien to Islam" and "brought in from without." They accuse the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan of trying to eliminate Islam in the country by force, frightening believers with "godless communist ideas of collectivism," according to which not only land, but homes, wives and children will ostensibly become common to all. It is by no means an accident that all the chief counterrevolutionary and Basmach organizations include in thier own name an indication of their belonging to "true" Islam.

Nonetheless, under the conditions of the mass revolutionary character of the religious population, "democrats, antiimperialists and progressive people do not wish to turn Islam over to the full disposal of reactionaries so as not to permit it thereby to direct its egalitarian and antiimperialist traits against democracy, against social progress.... In their ideological and political activities advanced, democratic organization in Muslim countries...emphasize that actual observance of traditional moral, social and egalitarian features of Islam are not in contradiction to struggle for social progress, are not in contradiction to the principles of scientific socialism in the solution of the tasks of economic and social-cultural development,...at the same time noting that Islam in its basic canons forbids the exploitation of man by man, usury, bribe taking, corruption."[26]

In observing that "inclusion of the Islamic movement in the revolutionary process of patriotic forces has contributed to the expansion of the social base of the revolution and the political activation of the most backward part of Iranian society," Ye.M. Primakov does not exclude the possibility of such a version of the further unfolding of events in Iran wherein the adherents of the so-called "third" Islamic path of development will be able "in the course of a certain time to display a relative consistency in the matter of realization of their conceptions of social

justice and equality that for all the utopian character of these conceptions would contribute to the creation of certain conditions for a transition to noncapitalist development. But this is possible only on the basis of unification of leftist forces and the mobilization of laboring people, especially the working class, for further struggle for social progress and democracy."[27] In political life (and consequently in the patriotic-religious antiimperialist movement), a growth is taking place in the role of the national working class of Iran, the number of which reached in the middle of the '70s 3 million persons (about 30-33 percent of the country's self-employed population); it is all the more important to note that the worker councils created in the course of the 1978-79 revolution at enterprises were sanctioned by the country's new "Islamic" constitution.[28]

Of important significance is the systematic implementation of an essentially religious policy, permitting progressive forces to unite the laboring masses and the entire people around the solution of the cardinal tasks of elimination of exploitation of man by man, boosting of the economy and culture, democratization of public relations. In accordance with Article 5 of the "Basic Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan" (a temporary constitution adopted in April 1980 by the highest legislative organ of Afghanistan--the Revolutionary Council), "in the DRA respect for and the protection of the holy religion of Islam is ensured; all Muslims are guaranteed and insured full freedom of practicing religious rites"; but at the same time, it is emphasized that "no one has the right to use religion for the purpose of antinational and antipeople's propaganda and for the commission of other acts inimical to the interests of the DRA and the people of Afghanistan." General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the DRA Comrade Babrak Karmal noted the desire of the reactionary circles of certain Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, "to find a contradiction between revolutionary theory and the values of Islam. Actually, the world outlook of the working class and progressive revolutionary theory never can be contrary to the interest- f Muslim workers," all the more since the "principles of Islam have always d anded social justice."[29] Through mass information media it is emphasized by the DRA that the April revolution was the clear manifestation of the will of the Muslims of Afghanistan for the establishment of true social justice; that counterrevolutionaries, craftily cloaking their crimes and antipeople's intentions with the authority of Islam, "sow their seeds of discord in the one family of Muslims of Afghanistan"; that limitation of landholding by landowners in the process of agrarian reform and the working by personal labor of land confiscated from the enemies of the revolution are in full accord with the spirit of the Koran.

Such a policy produces its fruit. The first DRA conference of ulema and clergy in the history of the country, in which about 800 persons took part, adopted a resolution which states that the subversive acts of persons in the service of U.S. imperialism and the instigation of the internal and external enemies of the DRA aimed at fomenting a fratricidal war are in scandalous contradiction to the principles of Islam and that indomitable support of the present government is declared to be the religious duty of every Afghan Muslim.

The hope for a positive employment of Islamic comaandments for the purpose of drawing the broadest laboring masses to revolutionary action in the field of antiimperialist struggle not only for national but also for social liberation, to the

realization of choosing socialism is expressed in the National Charter of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria (1976).[30] In Algeria, many transitional forms of progressive social-economic changes contain an Islamic component and are characterized by the parallel use of religious and secular measures and institutions which are comparable in content. Thus, the traditional slogan of the jihad--an aggressive-fanatic armed struggle with adherents of different faiths, "covered" with a reference to a sura of the Koran advocating the necessity of peace and cooperation with neighbors and other peoples, is transformed into a so-called "production"jihad--a call to energetic and friendly joint work in the national economy, to a struggle with the forces of nature supported by proper ideological measures in the sphere of secular political-educational work. Land reform, which was resisted by a significant portion of the clergy, was also reinforced by references to those theses of the Koran which, first, helped the fellahin to decide in favor of cultivation of expropriated, "other people's" land and, second, separating the intrigues of the reactionary strata of the clergy from the root interests of the laboring masses, contributed to the disclosure of their true social-political character through the prism of moral-religious norms. A campaign for the elimination of illiteracy, conducted as a secular cultural-political measure, was also accompanied by a call to imams for the organization of courses for the liquidation of illiteracy (in 1973, they were attended by about 30,000 persons) and special Koranic schools at mosques.[31] At the same time, the involvement of believers in active social-political and operational economic activity through the gradual unmasking and cutting away of parasitic-exploiting factors in Islam objectively contributes to the "worldlization" of religion and thereby the neutralization of the negative sides of the inevitable growth of its influence on the life of society in the beginning of the transitional period.[32]

The realization of a socialist orientation of development and a basic change in the nature and structure of social existence, social activity and social consciousness of the peoples of former colonies and semicolonies with time, as borne out by the Soviet experience of noncapitalist development, supplant and force out religious ideas and forms of arguments for progressive changes in the periphery of social life and ideological processes and deprive them of their former totally permeating influence on the emotions, behavior and lives of people, who become conscious fighters for a new, socialist future.

Shortly after the victory of the October Revolution (3 December 1917), V.I. Lenin signed an appeal of the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars "To All Laboring Muslims of Russia and the East." The very title of this document indicates two profound dialectically connected ideas: recognition of the religious community of Muslim peoples, which is more significant compared to their ethnic diversity, and an appeal for consolidation with the Soviet power in the form of Soviets of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants Deputies addressed particularly to laboring Muslims.[33] Socialist forms of ownership and power, government and culture, family and mode of life were firmly established only through a process of a complex and extended transitional period of existence of two paraellel systems of political self-organization of laboring masses, legal proceedings and formation in Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

In particular, in the Bukharskaya and Khorezmskaya People's Soviet Republics, where until joining the USSR (1920-24) non-capitalist development, stemming from the universal religiousness of an illiterate population, was practiced for the first time in world history outside the boundaries of a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there was temporary preservation of waqf landownership (belonging to

the clerics and the mosques) as well as Muslim kazi and bey courts and the Shariat schools of madrasah's and maktabs. It is characteristic that the inconsistent, but nonetheless anti emir and khan theocratic despotism, national bourgeoisie and the secular intelligentsia, for example, in the person of the Young Bukhara Party, while demanding the destruction of the emirate, looked on the Shariat as the only basis for the future organization of society and the state. But the practical work of revolutionary changes during the transitional period showed the utopian nature of such ideas under the conditions of awakening of class-political self-awareness of the laboring masses and the left wing of the Young Bukhara Party gradually went over to the positions of the communists. The effectiveness of the struggle against Basmachestvo in Central Asia was likewise largely determined by the degree of "cleansing" of its social nature in the eyes of the laboring masses of religious catchwords and rituals that had been hiding it for a long time.[34] Even religious figures were forced to censure Basmachestvo. The conference held in Eastern Bukhara toward the end of 1923 of all the mullahs of the Lokay tribes unanimously acknowledged that the Soviet power does not contradict the Mohammedan faith and therefore the Basmaches, in acting against the Soviet power, cannot relate their actions to the interests of defending Islam.[35]

Several years later, while acting loyally toward the Soviet power, a portion of the Muslim clergy supported the first stage of the land reform. It proposed the nationalization of only large waqfs and lands belonging to the higher clergy, while allowing small land plots belonging to village mosques, the income of which went for the maintenance of the mosque and mullah, to remain untouched. Thanks to such a differentiated approach to religious landholding, most Muslim authorities, through the benefit of citations from the "holy books," affirmed in their appeals and sermons the justice and agreeableness to God of the taking of land not tilled by their own labor from the large landowners and turning it over to farm laborers and peasants, who could not otherwise feed their families.[36] This was of great moral and psychological importance, since at first a portion of tenants, hired laborers and small landowning peasants, under the influence of reactionary elements of the clergy or of threats from the Basmaches refused to cultivate nationalized land, especially waqf land.[37] Such were certain forms of consideration of mass adherence of the population to Islam in the process of the struggle with counterrevolutionary Basmachestvo and the preparation of conditions for the building of the foundations of socialism in former semicolonial Muslim regions.

The basic social-economic changes, including national-state delimitation of the republics of Central Asia, the solution of the land and water problem, the cooperation of the peasantry, the creation of a national industry, the cultural revolution and so on, objectively helped the duplicating secular-religious system of transitional forms, with the formation of a mass socialist consciousness, to yield its place to a secular organization of all the basic aspects of the social life of the Central Asian peoples; constitutional right of freedom of conscience, guaranteed to every citizen of the USSR, provides in a real way for the existence of cult institutions and organizations that are loyal to socialist society. An interview with the chairman of the Clerical Administration of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan Mufti Znyat-dinkhan ibn Ishan Babakhan provides an idea of the position of contemporary Muslim theologians of the Soviet Union in regard to the relation of the basic postulates of the Muslim faith and the humanist ideals of socialism and also of the antiimperialist potential of Islam stemming from this.[37]

Thus egalitarian and equalizing components of religious feelings, moods and forms of contacts of the laboring strata can be used by progressive forces within the framework of anticolonial antiimperialist changes and even of the initial stage of anti-capitalist changes.

"The thesis: 'socialism is a religion,'" V.I. Lenin wisely wrote in 1919, "is for some a form of transition from religion to socialism, for others from socialism to religion."[39] In the progressive states of the Arab East and Muslim countries of socialist orientation of our day, the first of the tendencies of social-psychological ideological shifts in the consciousness of the broad laboring masses mentioned by V.I. Lenin prevails over the second, reflecting irreversible changes in the correlation of class and political forces in the world arena.

FOOTNOTES

1. Marx, K. and Engels, F., "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 21, p 294.

2. Ul'yanovskiy, R.A., "Sovremennyye problemy Azii i Afriki" [Present-Day Problems of Asia and Africa], Moscow, 1978, p 164.

3. Lenin, V.I. Lenin "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 4, p 229.

4. Ibidem, vol 10, p 218.

5. See Vsevolodov, I.V., "Birma: religiya i politika (Buddiyskaya sangkha i gosudarstvo)" [Burma: Religion and Politics (Buddhist Sangha and the State). Moscow, 1978, pp 227-259; Gavrilov, Yu.N., "Bor'ba za nezavisimost' i progressivnyye preobrazovaniya v Birme" [The Struggle for Independence and Progressive Changes in Burma], Moscow, 1979, and other works.

6. RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR, No 4, 1979, pp 140-141.

7. S.A. Tokarev, one of the most prominent Soviet ethnographers, defines religion as "not so much the relation of man to God (gods) as the relation of people with respect to each other in regard to ideas of God (gods)." See Tokarev, S.A., "On Religion as a Social Phenomenon," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, No 3, 1979, pp 91, 96.

8. Minkyavichus, Ya.V., "Religiya v mnogonatsional'nom mire" [Religion in a Multinational World], Vilnius, 1978, pp 35, 133.

9. Yerasov, B.S., "The Structure and Dynamics of Islamic Universalism," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 3, 1973, pp 146, 152, 154.

10. It is characteristic that G.A. al-Nasir, cutting off attacks on progressive changes in the UAR from the part of Muslim reaction, appealing to the Koran for argumentation on the "sinfulness" of socialism, produced the thesis "Islam--the Religion of Socialism." See Stepanyants, M.T., "The Role of Ideological Struggle on Social-Economic Problems" in the book "Bor'ba idey v sovremennon mire" [The Role of Ideas in the Contemporary World], Vol 3, Moscow, 1978, pp 274-275.

11. Devan, Mokhammed Azraf, "Islam v reshenii zhiznennykh problem" [Islam in the Solution of Life Problems], Dacca, 1970, pp 38-42 (in the Bengali language).

12. Abdul Aziz, "Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the 13th Century," Delhi, 1968, p 6.

13. See, fo. example, Parwaz, J.G., "Islam, a Challenge to Religion," Lahore, 1968, p 19.

14. Nehru, J., "Otkrytiye Indii" [The Discovery of India], Moscow, 1955, p 413.

15. "J. Nehru's Speeches, 1957-1963," Vol IV, Delhi, 1964, p 151.

16. See Primakov, Ye.M., "Islam and the Processes of Social Development of the Countries of the East Abroad," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1980, No 8, pp 64-65.

17. Olva, B., "Bogi Tropicheskoy Afriki" [The Gods of Tropical Africa], Moscow, 1976, pp 196, 200.

18. Sharevskaya, B.I., "The Religious Traditions of Tropical Africa Face to Face With Contemporaneity," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 1, 1973, p 176.

19. Okot p'Bitek, "Afrikanskiye traditsionnyye religii" [African Traditional Religions," Moscow, 1979, p 63.

20. Kosukhin, N.D., "Formirovaniye ideyno-politicheskoy strategii v afrikanskikh stranakh sotsialisticheskoy orientatsii" [Formation of Ideo-Political Strategy in African Countries of Socialist Orientation], Moscow, 1980, pp 156-157.

21. Ibidem, pp 160-161.

22. See "Kritika burzhuaznykh teorii natsionalizma i racizma" [Criticism of Bourgeois Theories of Nationalism and Racism], Moscow, 1976, pp 242-246.

23. See Aziz Ahmed, "Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857-1964, L. [London ?], 1967, p 222.

24. Korshunov, Ye.A., "Syria: Difficult, but Fruitful Weekdays," ZA RUBEZHOM, No 41, 1980, pp 12-13.

25. Sudiman, S., "Truth and Lies on the 'Events of 30 September,'" PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 5, 1980, p 63.

26. Ul'yanovskiy, R.A., "Sovremennyye problemy Azii i Afriki" [Contemporary Problems of Asia and Africa], p 85-86.

27. Primakov, Ye.M., Op. cit., pp 67-68.

28. Aliyev, S.M., "The 1978-1979 Iranian Revolution and the Working Class," RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR, No 5, 1980, pp 105, 111.

29. ZA RUBEZHOM, No 29, 1980, p 6.

30. "Natsional'naya khartiya Alzhirskoy Narodnoy Demokraticheskoy Respubliki" [The National Charter of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria], Moscow, 1979, pp 31-32.

31. Malashenko, A., "Religious Tradition and Policy of Revolutionary Democracy (On the Example of Algeria)," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 9, 1979, pp 21-22.

32. See also Kanayev, S.G., "Development of Education and the Formation of a National Intelligentsia in Algeria," RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR, No 5, 1980, p 114.

33. See also: Gizatullin, I.G.,"Zashchishchaya zaroyevaniya Oktyabrya. Tsentral'naya musul'manskaya voyennaya kollegiya. 1918-1920" (Defending the Gains of October. Central Muslim Military Collegium, 1918-1920], Moscow, 1979; Saidbayev, T.C., "Islam i obshchestvo. Opyt istoriko-sotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya" [Islam and Society. The Experience of Historical-Sociological Research], Moscow, 1978.

34. For more details see Sharipov, I., "Predposylki preobrazovaniya obshchestvennykh otnosheniy v Tadzhikistane na puti nekapitalisticheskogo razvitiya" [Prerequisites for Changing Social Relations in Tajikistan on the Road of Noncapitalistic Development], Part I, Dushanbe, 1973, p 68.

35. See Polyakov, Yu.A. and Chugunov, A.I., "Konets basmachestva" [The End of Basmachestvo], Moscow, 1976, p 113; Irkayev, I., "Istoriya grazhdanskoy voyny v Tadzhikistane" [A History of the Civil War in Tajikistan], Dushanbe, 1971, pp 451-452.

36. Saidbayev, T.A., Op. cit., pp 152-153.

37. Ibidem, p 153.

38. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 1, 1980, pp 78-79.

39. Lenin, V.I., Op. cit., vol 17, p 423.

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NATIONAL

ANTICOMMUNIST SLANDER OF SOVIET NATIONALITY POLICY ATTACKED

Kiev POD ZNAMENEM LENINIZMA in Russian No 21, Nov 80 signed to press 28 Oct 80 pp 41-45

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences L. Nagornaya: "The Nationality Policy of the CPSU and the Intrigues of Anticommunism"]

[Text] At the beginning of the 1980's contemporary imperialism's acts of ideological sabotage against our nation have become characterized by an unprecedented fomenting of anticommunist hysteria, which has taken the form of unbridled anti-Sovietism. Brazenly assuming the role of arbitrator not only in international relations, but in the internal affairs of the socialist nations as well, the U.S. government is pursuing a markedly antisocialist foreign policy course and resorting to acts of adventurism in gross violation of the principles of international law.

While performing the function of world policeman, American imperialism at the same time does not object to appearing in the guise of moralizer. Crude pressure against the sovereign rights of peoples and undisguised humiliation of the individual are mixed with high-flown utterances about "human rights," "the sacred rights of nat' ns," and so forth. Profuse praise for the bourgeois way of life is combined with crude attacks upon real socialism, upon its political and social institutions and its system of values.

There is a reason why the campaigns of anticommunist slander invariably focus upon the principles of proletarian internationalism, the nationality policy of the CPSU and the new types of relations between nationalities established by socialism. Numerous ideologists and propagandists of the bourgeois world endeavor to depict proletarian internationalism as hegemonism in foreign policy and as nationalism in domestic policy, as a means of interfering in the internal affairs of peoples.

This is primarily due to the intense ideological struggle centering around proletarian internationalism, and its embodiment in the practices of real socialism. In their search for an ideological and theoretical alternative to socialism and communism bourgeois philosophers, historians and sociologists are increasingly equating those with nationalism. Propaganda about national discrimination, the agitation of nationalistic prejudices and the cultivation of national intolerance and racial hostility are the favorite means of mass propaganda used by imperialism.

The emphasis on nationalism is a distinguishing feature of both the contemporary imperialist strategy and the social practices of right-wing and "leftist" revisionism, Maoism and international Zionism.

This is why the CPSU and the fraternal communist parties consider the struggle to defend the principles of proletarian internationalism against bourgeois nationalism in all its forms and manifestations to be one of their most important tasks. "We Soviet Communists," the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress stated, "consider it the sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist to defend proletarian internationalism." The class approach to nationality problems is consistently combined in Marxist-Leninist political thought with concrete historical analysis of the nature of nationalism and its manifestations, with thorough and well supported criticism of contemporary anticommunism's attempts to exploit nationalism in its anticommunist strategy. Attempts by "sovietologists" to describe the nationality policy of the CPSU as basically nationalistic and to depict the objective processes of internationalization as "denationalization," "russification" and elimination of the "ethnic individuality" of nationalities are repudiated with special severity.

Our party's internationalist policy is based upon recognition and application of the general laws underlying the transition from capitalism to communism. One of the basic laws is the equalization of levels of development of peoples and countries. Unlike capitalism, which separates peoples and achieves progress for certain nations at the expense of others, socialism creates relationships among nations based on the solid foundation of friendship, mutual assistance and closest possible cooperation. Under socialism progress is the prospering of each nation, bringing them closely together and achieving complete unity among them.

Our nation was the first giant laboratory in which the socialist method of resolving the nationality issue was thoroughly tested. History has provided an unprecedented example of the conversion of a former "peoples' prison" into a single, fraternal family, a process which took place before the eyes of a single generation, within the span of a half century.

Marxist-Leninist theory in the area of the nationality question was tested and brilliantly confirmed on the practical level and underwent further, creative development in the CPSU's historic experiment with the socialist reform of the complex and dynamic sphere of national relations. Experience proved the accuracy of Lenin's prediction that "by organizing production without class oppression and insuring prosperity for all members of the state socialism would thereby give unlimited range to the 'sympathies' of the population, and that this in itself would simplify and enormously accelerate the rapprochement and merging of nations" ("Poln. sobr. soch.," [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, p 21).

The developed socialist society created in our nation has a sociopolitical and spiritual unity among the workers of all nationalities, which is inconceivable under any other system. It is distinguished by a high level of consolidation for each nation and ethnic group, progressive advances in their social structure, intensification of the exchange of material and spiritual values among them, intensification and expansion of cooperation among them, augmentation of the

solidifying role of the new, historic community of people--the Soviet people--and the continuing development of common Soviet features in our way of life. The social unity of society which has been achieved and its continued progression toward more complete social uniformity is serving as the basis for increasing and strengthening unity among all the socialist society's nations and ethnic groups as the highest manifestation of friendship and cooperation among peoples in a situation of growing internationalization of public life and scientific and technological revolution.

Scientific control of the international and national processes in the society of developed socialism constitutes an important element in the control of the entire socialist public entity. The party considers the main task of its national policy to be that of achieving the optimal combination of overall interests of the entire Soviet people with the interests of each of the nations and ethnic groups and of perfecting their specific forms of cooperation and intercourse, using for this purpose its economic strategy, socialist regulatory mechanisms and the powerful arsenal of ideological and indoctrinational means. As it strives for the all-round creative development of initiative in the workers, the CPSU sets and performs tasks of vital importance for all the nation's workers, regardless of their nationality, and requiring the combined efforts of all members of society.

Naturally, the new type of national relations created by socialism will not fit into the procrustean bed of the bourgeois ideologists' accustomed and convenient categories and concepts. Instead of acknowledging it as something fundamentally new, however, they stubbornly attempt to apply the "scale of measures" used by them for analyzing capitalism to national relations in the USSR and the nationality policy of the CPSU. The basic distinction between the socialist and capitalist types of integration, as well as the distinction between the socialist and capitalist methods of control, is glossed over in the process, reduced to the level of insignificant detail. The Soviet society's political system is "studied" by comparing it with the Western bureaucracies' "efficient manner" of functioning and by arbitrarily transposing the abstract schemes characteristic of capitalism to socialism's qualitatively different social structures. Attempts "to prove" that socialism is as powerless as the capitalist system over certain important social problems are propagated in the mainstream of so-called comparative analysis of capitalism and socialism (comparativism).

One such problem, according to bourgeois ideologists, lies in the fact that capitalism and socialism are equally unable to resolve the "dilemma of centralism and multinationality." Despite the existence of numerous, frequently contradictory and sometimes fairly diverse points of view on the nature of international and national processes in the Soviet Union, bourgeois ideologists are as one in the most important respect--in their attempt "to prove" the incompatibility of national elements and the international principle. The theme of the "unsolved," "acute" nationality question in the USSR dominates absolutely all publications by bourgeois "sovietologists."

Openly slanderous dogmas of anti-Sovietism, conceived during the worst periods of the cold war, are coming to life again in the climate of unbridled anti-Soviet hysteria. The extremely primitive myths are nurtured primarily by imperialism's

strategic aims of fanning national and racial hostility and galvanizing nationalistic biases and religious dogmas. By putting into play their poisonous weapon of nationalism, the imperialist bourgeoisie hopes to counter the victorious advance of proletarian internationalism in the modern world. At the same time, it is attempting to explain its own inability to resolve the nationality question by means of a mythical, universal law of the basic ineradicability of nationality conflicts and racial hostility.

This is primarily the reason for the accentuated interest in ethnic and national factors vigorously demonstrated in recent years by bourgeois sociology, which has led to its emergence as a special branch of science--the so-called "ethnic studies." In an attempt to downgrade the real role of classes and the class struggle in the life of society, ethno-sociologists deliberately shift the stress from the class to the national area, assign absolute importance to things ethnic and do not even attempt to understand the dialectics of class and national relations. Attempts to depict proletarian internationalism as a conjunctive socialist utopia and to equate bourgeois nationalism with national awareness continue to be the general trend.

Nationalism is always given a supernatural, "demoniacal" tinge in the writings of bourgeois ideologists. It is depicted as an elemental explosion of national feelings, which will always amaze mankind with its incomprehensible force. "War, large-scale, all-engulfing war, at least, must be eliminated within the next 30 years or else it will destroy mankind," writes American sociologist C. Deutsch, as an example. "Nationalism, however, will not be eliminated within two, three or even more generations, apparently not within the century." The "virus of nationalism," about which the bourgeois ideologists have written so much, is depicted as ubiquitous and fatally damaging to any social structure.

Speeches made by American sociologists at the 11th Congress of International Association of Political Sciences, which took place last August in Moscow, were a clear example of how bourgeois "ethnic studies" are used in the ideological struggle against the world of socialism.

Hypocritically complaining about a lack of elaboration and disagreement in the categories of the national and the ethnic, nationalism and patriotism, W. O'Connor, for example, scolded Soviet scientists for not wanting "to study the status of nationalism within the socialist states." His colleague, Yu. Kazlas, actually attempted to support his claims to have "perfected" the categorical system used in the study of internationalism and nationalism by alleging that he had performed "sociological studies" in this area.

There would be no reason even to mention these scientific-appearing fabrications (since the arguments presented by the speakers were too unconvincing and their qualifications in this field appeared very doubtful), had the reports not reflected the general trend in modern bourgeois "communist sudies"--the masking of feeble attempts to discredit the nationality policy of the CPSU with hypocritical statements about "sacred rights of nations."

The malicious lie about "Soviet expansionism" has always been present in the arsenal of ideological blackmail arranged by imperialism against the world's first socialist state. Today, however, in the climate of continuous hysterical screaming about the "Soviet threat," this thesis is supposed to serve primarily as a means of intimidating those young national states which have chosen the socialist path of development and whose foreign policy is oriented toward the Soviet Union.

The myth about "Soviet colonialism" coming from bourgeois ideologists has the ring of an intimidating warning: If you want to retain your national independence, then avoid the Soviet Union, don't come under its influence. Naturally, everything possible is done to belittle the economic and the moral and political assistance provided the developing nations by the USSR and other socialist states, and the nature of cooperation between them is falsified.

The slanderous versions of things put out by the "sovietologists" have yet another objective, of course. It was openly stated during the establishment of a special American program for the study of Soviet nationality problems by its director E. Allworth, "we will not be studying exclusively the question of nationalism," he said. "We want to deal with a far greater number of problems. We want to know how a given nationality regards its problems, what gives it the strength to develop, what certain peoples think about other nationalities and what they think about independence." The goals set for themselves by the bourgeois "students" of our party's nationality policy and of national relations in the USSR are clearly explained here in thinly veiled form: to pit the peoples of the USSR against each other, and primarily against the Russian people, to create anti-Russian sentiment and out of this, anti-Soviet feelings, in the non-Russian peoples, to provoke separatist, nationalistic trends, and so forth.

Bourgeois ethno-sociologists distort the meaning and the nature of national relations in the USSR, constantly accusing the USSR of artificially "nudging along" the processes involved in the rapprochement of nations, of "forcing" them toward the creation of a "single Soviet nation." Nonsensical notions such as these serve as the central point around which ever newer fantasies about "russification" in the Soviet republics are stacked.

In its efforts to discredit Soviet experience in resolving the nationality question contemporary anticommunism is attempting to bring all the enemies of real socialism--right-wing and "leftist" revisionists, Maoists and Zionists--together on a common platform. The actual alliance between overt anticommunism and right-wing and "leftist" revisionism is based on their mutual interest in weakening real socialism by speculatively contrasting it to arbitrarily constructed "national models."

The openly nationalistic concepts of sinocentric hegemonism, augmented by Beijing's anti-Soviet foreign policy course, also command the respect of bourgeois ideology. Israel's hegemonistic claims in the Near East and its anti-Arab racist policy also have exactly the same, complete support of governing circles in the leading capitalist states.

The reactionary emigres have a notable role in imperialism's ideological acts of sabotage directed against our nation's fraternal friendship of peoples. Both the "sovietologists" holding degrees and representatives of nationalistic emigre organizations and groupings present a united front at conferences and symposiums "analyzing" nationality relations in the USSR.

In 1977 Praeger, a large bourgeois publishing house, published a book entitled "The Ukraine in the USSR," edited by I. Koropetskiy. In the foreword itself the authors plainly stated the conclusion to which they were to lead their readers: The Ukraine's political status "is retarding development of its economy and the welfare of the citizens." The book contains numerous, fairly complicated outlines, tables, formulas and diagrams devoted to "substantiating" the thesis of the "inequality" of the Ukraine's economic relations with the other republics, of a "worsening of its economic status" within the USSR, and so forth. Posing as "supporters" of the interests of the Ukrainian people, bourgeois "Ukrainian scholars" shed crocodile tears because in the Ukraine there is allegedly no place for spiritual values, for civil liberties, for Ukrainian culture.

Such speculative fabrications might delude the Western observer, of course. As far as the Soviet people are concerned, however, the very concept of looking for some sort of "equivalence" in interrepublic relations is alien to them. The Soviet Union is a single economic entity: Its economy is not simply the sum total of the national economies but a single system, developed according to a single plan through the common efforts of all the Soviet republics. The efficient distribution of productive forces, planned specialization and comprehensive development of the national economy of the Soviet republics is one of the most important conditions for creating the material and technological foundation for communism.

The Ukrainian SSR is a prospering republic of industry and kolkhozes, with a high level of education, science and culture. This indisputable fact is acknowledged by all unbiased people. Proof of this is a statement by West German publicist Gerhard Saifahrt. "My trip through the Ukraine, one of 15 Union republics making up the Soviet Union," he wrote last year, "was a graphic lesson in the subject of Soviet nationality policy.... I visited Kiev, L'vov and Odessa, and nowhere did I see signs of the notorious 'forced russification' mentioned over and over again in anti-Soviet propaganda in the West.... The Ukrainian culture is flowering as never before--national in form, socialist in substance. Ukrainian writers Oles' Gonchar, Mikhail Stel'makh and certain others are well known far beyond the borders of the USSR...."

Why do the statements of eyewitnesses differ so greatly from the conclusions drawn by bourgeois "science"? Apparently, because the latter is dominated by a certain "social demand," by absolutely specific propaganda principles. The establishment of socialist internationalism in the psychology, ideology, policy and social practices of millions of people ranks among the greatest of socialism's conquests. This is precisely why imperialism's ideological henchmen are raging against it. This accounts for the endless fantasies about the "unresolved," "acute" nationality question in the USSR. This accounts for the constant search for "conflicts" between socialist internationalism and patriotism, and for attempts to depict as "patriots" all those who express nationalistic views in any form.

All these fabrications, disguised to appear scientific, are based on an obvious unwillingness to understand the simple truth that socialist internationalism is as closely related to Soviet patriotism as it is hostile toward and incompatible with bourgeois nationalism. The common Soviet national awareness is primarily the awareness of belonging to the Soviet people as a community international in makeup.

The CPSU's historic experiment in the resolution of the nationality question has enriched the treasury of Marxism-Leninism with new conclusions and propositions and has expanded the horizons of revolutionary theory and practice. In his report on the 50th anniversary of the USSR, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed the fact that the nationality question, in the form in which it was inherited from the past by the Soviet nation, has been totally resolved, resolved once and for all, irreversibly. He placed this achievement alongside victories won in the building of a new society in the USSR, such as industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution. The Soviet Union is a stronghold of friendship of peoples in the world, a base of support for all the revolutionary forces of today.

The global nature of the internationalization processes, which is becoming apparent at the current stage of historical development, is steadily extending the dialectical relationship between the international and the national on the scope of all mankind. The fact that the socialist system came into being and has developed as an internationalist society created a qualitatively new balance of power in the world and continues to be an important factor in social progress. It is for this reason that the Soviet Union's experiment in the implementation of basic social reforms is the most powerful argument yet in the historical controversy between capitalism and socialism.

Proletarian internationalism has become an effective factor in the establishments of a new way of life, international in nature, and a new, socialist type of individual, and gained a persuasive victory over bourgeois nationalism. The latter, however, is still capable of causing perceptible damage to the process of mankind's steady development toward new and highers forms of public life. It has a prominent role in the noisy anti-Soviet campaigns. The most reactionary forces of the modern world are united on the platforms of anti-Sovietism and nationalism.

It is precisely for this reason that the determined exposure of bourgeois-nationalistic ideology and well-supported, objective rejection of the intrigues of bourgeois propaganda continue to comprise one of the most urgent tasks in our party's ideological, political and indoctrinational work. Party organizations devote a great deal of attention to the international and patriotic indoctrination of the workers and use the entire arsenal of ideological means to develop in the Soviet people, especially the youth, strong internationalist convictions, a materialist world outlook and nonacceptance of bourgeois ideology in all its manifestations and variations. The internationalist awareness of the new historical community of people--the Soviet people--dooms all the intrigues of the bourgeois world's politicians and propagandists to inevitable failure.

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ALIYEV ADDRESSES PARTY ECONOMIC AKTIV MEETING

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 15 Jan 81 pp 1-2

[Article on Azerbaijan SSR party-economic aktiv meeting and Aliyev address at that meeting: "Towards New Labor Accomplishments"]

[Text] Azerbaijan SSR laborers marked the 10th Five-Year Plan with shock-work labor, carrying out its assignments in four years and two and a half months. Inspired by the homeland's high award of the Order of Lenin and by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's warm greetings in connection with their glorious labor victory, production collectives have embarked on the first year of the new five-year plan filled with a striving to secure what has been achieved and to greet the 26th CPSU Congress in a worthy manner.

This was stressed in the speeches by participants in the republic party-economic aktiv meeting held on 13 January in the club imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy. It was devoted to adopting worker socialist obligations to carry out the 1981 Azerbaijan SSR economic and social development plan ahead of schedule.

The meeting presidium included CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member G. A. Aliyev, First Secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau members K. M. Bagirov, A. I. Ibragimov, G. Kh. Ibragimov, Yu. N. Pugachev, G. N. Seidov, S. B. Tatliyev and K. A. Khalilov, Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau candidate members I. N. Askerov, Z. I. Guseynova, B. S. Kevorkov, G. Sh. Efendiyev and Z. M. Yusif-zade, leading workers from industry, agriculture, construction and transport, leaders of ministries and departments, and party obkom, gorkom and raykom secretaries.

CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member G. A. Aliyev, First Secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, opened the meeting.

With great enthusiasm and prolonged, sustained applause, the Politburo of the Leninist Central Committee of the CPSU, headed by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, was elected to honorary membership in the presidium.

Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Chairman A. I. Ibragimov gave a report.

Participating in the debates which developed on the report were Kirovabad gorkom First Secretary G. A. Gasanov, Dzhalilabadskiy raykom First Secretary I. M. Kurbanov, drilling foreman A. M. Amanov from the Ali-Bayramlinskiy Drilling Administration,

Baku gorkom Second Secretary L. A. Sokolov, brigade leader Sh. D. Rzayev from sovkhoz imeni N. Narimanov in Lenkoranskiy Rayon, Nakhichevanskaya obkom Second Secretary A. M. Golubev, milkmaid S. Z. Bekhbutova from kolkhoz imeni Nizami in Ismaillinskiy Rayon, oblispolkom chairman A. A. Aslanov from Nagorno-Karabakhskaya Autonomous Oblast, and Zhdanovskiy raykom First Secretary V. A. Ismailov.

The speaker and those participating in the debates spoke of the tremendous political and labor upsurge caused by preparations for the very important historical events which the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party will be. Discussion of the draft CPSU Central Committee "Basic Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and Through 1989" took on a truly nationwide character. Republic workers are preparing to greet the Congress of their native party with broad-scope socialist competition and with new labor deeds for the good of the homeland.

The meeting noted that Azerbaijan laborers have achieved good results this past five-year plan in resolving the tasks set by the party to accelerate the rates of development of industrial and agricultural production, to improve its efficiency and quality, and that those results have been a result of the selfless, creative labor of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, people's intelligentsia, the collectives of enterprises and organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, of the organizational work of party, soviet, trade-union and Komsomol organizations. All this has been a result of much purposeful, persistent, strained work by the Central Committee and Bureau of the Azerbaijan Communist Party. The republic's achievements have become possible thanks to the constant attention and concern of the CPSU Central Committee, Central Committee Politburo, Soviet government and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally for Soviet Azerbaijan.

The mighty production potential created during the 10th Five-Year Plan enables us to set and resolve large, complex tasks involving republic economic development. The plan approved for the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan is aimed at continued, faster development of the economy and culture of Azerbaijan. Primary attention has been focused on further increasing labor productivity on the basis of retooling enterprises and improving the structure of industry. Electrical engineering, tool making, radio engineering, electronics and other branches of industry which ensure fuller use of labor resources will be developed at outstripping rates. High rates of development will be ensured for branches producing consumer goods. Agricultural production based on intensification, concentration and specialization on a base of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration will be further developed.

Successful resolution of all these tasks will, meeting participants said, require an objective evaluation of the results achieved and critical analysis of shortcomings and oversights in order to use more effectively the opportunities of each enterprise, association, kolkhoz and sovkhoz, ministry and department. We need to develop a resolute struggle against mismanagement and extravagance and other negative phenomena.

In discussing the CPSU Central Committee draft for the 26th Party Congress in a business-like, interested manner, republic labor collectives have outlined high frontiers to be reached in the first year of the five-year plan; they are seeking out reserves for improving production efficiency and output quality in every way possible. It will be the aim of each city and village worker to make 1981 a year of remarkable new accomplishments. The collectives of 102 enterprises of industry, construction and

transport, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, have decided to complete the plans for the first two months by the opening of the unionwide forum of communists [26th Party Congress], 6,700 shops, sectors, brigades and shifts and upwards of 83,000 leading production workers have decided to complete the assignments for the first quarter of 1981 by that date.

The meeting stressed the necessity of increasing even more the importance of socialist competition, of increasing its effectiveness, of creating everywhere an atmosphere of high exactingness, organization, discipline and a creative approach to one's work. Questions of developing the economy through intensive factors, by improving the effectiveness of social production and work quality, by creating the conditions necessary for highly productive labor by each worker and unconditional fulfillment of plan assignments and socialist obligations, must be in the center of our attention.

Meeting participants unanimously adopted socialist obligations for Azerbaijan workers for 1981 in terms of carrying out the republic economic and social development plan ahead of schedule.

A speech was given at the meeting by CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member G. A. Aliyev, First Secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. He was greeted warmly by those present.

Dear Comrades! The Soviet people have entered a new stage in building communism; they have begun the practical implementation of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Our meeting of the republic party-economic aktiv is discussing the draft socialist obligations of Azerbaijan workers on carrying out the republic 1981 economic and social development plan ahead of schedule. Comrades, this is the year of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan, and it occupies a special place in the history of our country. And the socialist obligations submitted for discussion by the meeting of the republic party-economic aktiv clearly demonstrate that the laborers of our republic are fully resolved to mark this year with shock work and high indicators in all areas of economic and social life.

The socialist obligations we are discussing today were adopted at meetings in labor collectives in rayons and cities, in the autonomous republic and the oblast, on the initiative of leading production workers and the collectives themselves.

The information being received in the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party these days, the reports in the press and in radio and television broadcasts on the course of discussions of the 1981 plans and the adoption of socialist obligations convincingly indicate the great labor and political enthusiasm and activeness of workers, kolkhoz members, the intelligentsia -- of all laborers in our republic. And all this has been reflected in the draft socialist obligations we are examining.

It must be borne in mind that the 1981 plan for Azerbaijan SSR economic and social development is a taut plan. The indicators of economic growth, of growth in manufactured and agricultural output, in our republic are higher than the average union indicators and higher than the indicators of a majority of the fraternal union republics.

The socialist obligations we are examining provide grounds for concluding that the workers of our republic have approached this matter with a sense of great responsibility and have exhibited a state-oriented approach, high patriotism and great concern for the continued accelerated development of the republic and our entire country.

All this, comrades, is convincing testimony to the fact that the workers of Azerbaijan are fighting actively and systematically to carry out the resolutions of the October (1980) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the tasks put forward at that Plenum by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. All this is a practical response to the CPSU Central Committee's call for marking the 26th Party Congress with new labor deeds.

The 1981 socialist obligations for the republic as a whole can be viewed as the response of all Azerbaijan workers to the constant concern, attention and paternal assistance on the part of the CPSU Central Committee, Central Committee Politburo, Soviet government and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally. (Stormy applause)

This elicits a sense of great satisfaction, a sense of joy and pride in the working people of Azerbaijan, who are marching devotedly in the ranks of the unionwide socialist competition. (Stormy applause)

In the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR, I want to sincerely congratulate all leading production workers, all labor collectives and all the initiators of initiatives and new beginnings for their high patriotism, for a state-oriented approach to the matter, for taking on high socialist obligations, and for their great concern for our republic and for our country. (Stormy, prolonged applause)

I would like to express my own acknowledgement of and gratitude to all those who took on high socialist obligations in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Congress of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. (Stormy, prolonged applause)

During the Ninth and 10th five-year plans, the workers of Azerbaijan proved convincingly that they are faithful to their obligations, true to their word, and we have no doubt whatsoever that the socialist obligations we are adopting today will be carried out successfully and overfulfilled.

The successes achieved by our republic during the 10th Five-Year Plan, and especially in 1980, are a good basis for actively moving forward and are a reliable guarantee of successful implementation of the socialist obligations we are discussing today.

The Communist Party and Soviet government have evaluated highly the labor of those moving forward, the labor of people who have, by their selflessness and personal example, had a great influence on the masses and have ensured successful actualization of the plans and socialist obligations. Today, we can with a sense of great satisfaction speak about the consistently high evaluation the heroic labor of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia of Azerbaijan has received during the 10th Five-Year Plan from the CPSU Central Committee, Central Committee Politburo and Soviet government. The awarding of a third Order of Lenin to our republic is graphic confirmation of precisely this paternal concern of the party and government for our republic. (Stormy applause)

Three thousand leading production workers who distinguished themselves most in the competition for carrying out the 10th Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule received high government awards, including 10 people who were awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

We are now preparing new proposals. Some 4,000 people will be awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union in the area of agriculture for successfully carrying out plans and socialist obligations for 1980 and the five-year plan as a whole. Moreover, about 3,000 people will be presented with orders and medals of the USSR for work in industry, construction and other branches of our republic's economy.

On the one hand, all this indicates how many leading people we have in the republic and how many labor heroes there are, but at the same time, it also testifies to the fact that the party and government place a high value on selfless, conscientious, valorous, honest labor. (Stormy applause)

We are now summing up the final results of the 1980 plans and socialist obligations and those for the 10th Five-Year Plan as a whole, as well as the results of the All-Union Socialist Competition, the republic competition and competition within branches of the national economy, and we are confident that the best labor collectives, rayons and cities will again be declared winners in the socialist competition. (Stormy applause)

All this, comrades, is unquestionably a substantial stimulus, a factor inspiring fulfillment of the socialist obligations we will adopt for 1981.

In order to resolve the tasks we are setting ourselves, much strained work will be required. First because, as I have already said, the 1981 plans contain very high growth rates, and second because, in spite of the great successes achieved in the republic as a whole and by the branch economy in particular, there are still many shortcomings and we have unfortunately not been able to bring all reserves into play and use them fully yet.

In order to meet the socialist obligations successfully, we need to begin developing socialist competition now in all spheres of our life so as to ensure not only fulfillment, but also overfulfillment of these obligations.

We should like to focus attention on several factors in this important work facing us this year. First, on the final distribution of 1981 plans to industrial enterprises, construction organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

According to republic Gosplan information, as compared with preceding years, this work will be done more quickly this year and the plans will be communicated to all executors, both by industry and capital construction and by agriculture. This will create a good basis for this work. At the same time, there are still many problems associated with final refinement of the plans, not only for each enterprise, but also within each enterprise. And of course, there is the question of distributing the annual plan by month and quarter.

The Gosplan and Council of Ministers are proposing for the first quarter an industry plan within the overall annual plan which anticipates a production growth rate of 5.4 percent. This is at first glance good. But I think we must set up our work

from the very start so as to take on considerably more in the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan of what is being planned for the five-year period as a whole in terms of developing industry. Given a planned 5.4 percent growth in production for the year, it would be appropriate to ensure a growth rate of at least seven percent. It will perhaps be difficult to carry this out in the first quarter, but in any case that is what we should fight for. Some comrades think it would be enough for us to go after an increment of six percent, but I do not agree. Workers in our industry are accustomed to achieving considerably greater plan overfulfillment, but that six percent is not even one percent over plan. Although I recognize that there are, of course, difficulties which industry workers will have to overcome, the fact is that in 1981 the industrial production volume here in the republic will be 9.5 billion rubles, so the percentages reflecting industrial production growth are being calculated based on that volume. The 1970 industrial production volume was 4.3 billion rubles, and the 1975 volume was 6.4 billion rubles. The difficulties associated with this are clear, but at the same time, we all can see our growing opportunities, the great experience accumulated and the mood current in the republic now. I should therefore like to orient all industry workers towards higher indicators.

But not all ministries, departments and enterprises think this way, unfortunately. Otherwise, how could one explain the fact that several ministries have outlined first-quarter plans even below the average republic level. This naturally indicates that they are not oriented towards strained work from the very start. I will not make you listen to an enumeration of those ministries and departments. I think their leaders know who I'm talking about and will draw their own conclusions, re-examine their plans and set up their work so that we can take on high rates of industrial production growth from the first month, from the first quarter.

I have already said that, along with the obvious major successes, we have also had quite a few shortcomings. Unfortunately, with such high industrial production plan overfulfillment, we also had enterprises which did not carry out either the 1980 plans or the 10th Five-Year Plan as a whole. There were 37 such associations and enterprises, 5.3 per cent of the total. That, comrades, is a serious shortcoming. At the start of the 10th Five-Year Plan, we were called upon by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to set ourselves the task of working without laggers. However, we were not able to achieve this. Consequently, we must ensure that this task is carried out in the 11th Five-Year Plan, foremost in its first year.

Unfortunately, there are enterprises here which are not meeting labor productivity plans. This is especially impermissible. In ensuring that the plans and socialist obligations are met now, we must be oriented primarily towards increasing production efficiency. We have achieved high rates of growth in the overall volume of industrial and agricultural production, but we have not yet achieved similar high rates of growth in its efficiency. Questions of efficiency must therefore be the focus of all our work; they must occupy a commanding position in work on organizing the meeting of socialist obligations.

Unfortunately, many of our workers, including supervisory workers, have heretofore been oriented only towards volume indicators. As a result, there are enterprises and entire branches which have not met labor productivity plans. At the same time, the measures adopted in 1980 by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers have yielded results. We were still able to bring the increment in industrial production achieved through increased labor productivity up to one percent, while that seemed unattainable to many comrades a couple of years ago.

I should also like to focus attention on the necessity of continuing to improve output quality. Comrades, this is also a most important indicator of plan and socialist obligation fulfillment. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, we also moved forward in this area. The proportion of output with the Badge of Quality was 1.5 percent in the Ninth Five-Year Plan, but we are ending the current five-year period with a level of 16 percent. The plan has been carried out, but we still lag begind those high demands made by the CPSU Central Committee as regards output quality in industry.

Very serious attention must be paid to carrying out plans in terms of the full products list of manufactured output. We have spoken repeatedly of this. Unfortunately, the proper attention is still not being paid to this everywhere. In several branches, the products-list plan is being carried out at the 50-percent level or even lower.

All this taken together, comrades, makes up the concept of production efficiency and is the most important technical-economic indicator of industry work as a single complex. And our socialist obligations must reflect party demands on increasing labor effectiveness, to which all our practical work must be subordinated in 1981.

Comrades! We are all in a good frame of mind because of what was achieved during the 10th Five-Year Plan. But at the same time, we must also be distressed by the fact that certain of our enterprises are beginning the new year, 1981, the year of the 26th Party Congress, with poor indicators. Just today, I received data for the first 11 days of January. The SK [not further identified] plant is lagging in meeting its January ethyl alcohol production assignment, the "Khimprom" association -- in caustic soda production, the superphosphate plant -- in mineral fertilizers, the Azerbaijan Pipe Rolling Plant -- in steel and steel pipe, the Karadagskiy Cement Plant -- in cement production, the Baku Textile Combine -- in cotton fabric and yarn, the No 1 Footwear Factory -- in leather footwear production, the Bakelektrobytpribor -- in refrigerators, and so on.

How do the leaders and representatives of these ministries, enterprises and associations in that situation feel? Not very good, I'm sure. We ended the year with good successes and we are all filled with a desire to develop them in the new year, to greet the 26th CPSU Congress with high indicators. But how are you working?

Of course, every leader you might ask would find objective reasons: not enough of something, something not delivered. But comrades, we must reject that mood. It is the essence of our work, the essence of socialist management and enterprise, to resolve all questions associated with the smooth operation of each enterprise in advance and to achieve this from the very first day of each month, and certainly from the first days of years such as 1981.

We have repeatedly made critical comments addressed to our petroleum workers. The data on their work in the first days of the new year force us to speak out again. As is known, they did not meet the plan for the last five-year plan, failing to supply all the petroleum called for. But a very realistic plan has been set for 1981 for both the "Kaspmorneftegazprom" and the "Azneft'," one lower than the 1980 plan. And if there is again a shortfall in petroleum deliveries from the very first days of the new year, it will doom them to nonfulfillment of the 1981 plan as well. I am amazed: during the first 11 days, the republic Ministry of Petrochemical Industry received 37,000 tons less Azerbaijan petroleum than called for. Thirty-seven thousand tons less, in just 11 days. Comrades K. Abbasov and B. Gadzhiyev surely

know it will be hard to make up a shortfall of even 10,000 tons, while we have fallen short 37,000 tons in just 11 days, including 27,000 tons by offshore oilfield workers. What are these comrades thinking of? I received that information half an hour before our meeting and I must say I was extremely surprised and deeply disturbed by their attitude. This situation is impermissible.

I think these critical remarks are sufficient for the leaders of those associations, ministries, departments and enterprises I have named, and for all others, to draw the appropriate conclusions that words must be supported by deeds. We have an opportunity in the republic as a whole and at each enterprise individually, large and small, as well as on each farm, to ensure smooth work, plan fulfillment and overfulfillment, from the very first days of 1981. Otherwise, what is the sense of the socialist obligations we are adopting today?

The problem of saving fuel and energy resources is of very important significance to our national economy. The CPSU Central Committee has more than once focused attention on this. Speaking at the October (1980) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev paid special attention to this question. Great strain has developed here in our republic in providing the national economy with electric power. This has long been known. We have no opportunities for obtaining additional amounts of electric power. We must be satisfied with those resources now available to us, bearing in mind the electricity generated here and that received from the Transcaucasus network. The demand for electric power is growing. Therefore, saving electricity is the only and most basic way of ensuring smooth operation of the Azerbaijan national economy with the available energy resources. However, we have done very poorly in this area. Twenty percent, or one-fifth, of the ministries, departments and enterprises did not cope with the fuel economy assignment last year. Such extravagance cannot be permitted.

At the same time, it has been estimated that if we carry out the fuel, and especially the electric power economy plans, we will be able to ensure the uninterrupted operation of all industrial enterprises and agricultural organizations. But given the situation as it is now, our Azglavenergo will be forced to switch off electricity often, which will have a negative impact on the work of machine builders, metallurgists, oilfield workers and workers in other branches.

Therefore, comrades, the strictest possible economy of fuel and energy resources, and especially of electric power, is now a most important task. And in this direction, both the leaders of enterprises, ministries and departments and our party and soviet organs must intensify their work. The People's Control Committee must also strengthen its supervision of energy resources economy. Our press, radio and television must constantly illuminate positive experience in this area and reveal shortcomings associated with the wasteful use of energy resources.

Comrades! Transport, and especially rail transport, is a most important factor in the successful operation of our entire economy. We lost a great deal both in 1980 and in the 10th Five-Year Plan as a whole due to the poor operation of rail transport. I would hope that our rail workers and the Azerbaijan Railroad Administration would finally have drawn the proper conclusions from past mistakes and that we will not have more outlays this year caused by poor transport operation. At the same time, transport confusion has unfortunately continued this year.

As concerns agriculture, here as in industry, we need to orient ourselves towards higher rates of production. As has become known, certain rayons have attempted to take on and have taken on lower obligations that the levels achieved in 1980. And I will openly state that there were even initially attempts to outline such obligations for the republic as a whole. We reviewed them. My opinion is that we must set ourselves the task of producing and selling the state considerably more agricultural products of all types than last year. (Stormy applause)

Each agricultural rayon, each kolkhoz, each sovkhoz, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Committee for Viticulture and Wine-Making, and the vegetable and fruit association must set up their work on this basis. We cannot agree to the obligations some rayons have adopted. I hope they will review them. And we will do everything we can to make 1981 a year of continued high growth in the production and procurement of all agricultural products. (Stormy applause)

In agriculture as well, comrades, we must move qualitative indicators and labor productivity to the fore. You will recall that at the start of 1980, I raised the question of labor productivity in agriculture at a Central Committee Plenum. I posed that question because the Gosplan had predicted that the five-year labor productivity growth plan would not be met. Given such high indicators in agriculture as a whole, we could not agree to that. It turned out that the Gosplan, Council of Ministers and Ministry of Agriculture had long been disregarding these questions. Steps were taken and the five-year plan for labor productivity growth in the field of agriculture was overfulfilled.

But at the same time, we could have had considerably higher indicators. In agriculture, we must think not only of production and procurement volume, but also of labor productivity, production efficiency, capital investment effectiveness and agricultural output quality. All these questions must occupy an important place in your practical work to meet the socialist obligations.

Now is a very important and responsible time for agriculture, and we need active work along all lines. In particular, we must do everything we can to raise grain production to 25-28 q/ha. In order to do this, we will require intensified field work, better organization of care of winter crops, and implementation of all the agrotechnical measures required. Quite a bit will also need to be done now to prepare for the cotton sowing, that is, to have high-quality seed, prepare the ground well and repair equipment properly so that we will be able to produce 900,000 tons of cotton.

In the area of viticulture, we are faced with many tasks both this year and in the future. Comrades recently submitted data indicating that our vineyards have become thinned out. Previous reporting had this thinning at 16 percent, and it is now 20 percent. That means either the previous reporting was not entirely accurate or individual farms have been working poorly. I think the vineyards and grape-growing regions need not stretch out the elimination of this thinning over the entire five-year period, but must think of concrete, practical steps to ensure its elimination on plantings suffering from it more quickly.

We recently were informed that vineyards on 25,000 ha were being written off due to considerable thinning and in places, to loss of plants. Let me say directly that this is a poor result for grape-growing regions. We need to find out why all this has happened. But at the same time, if what we were told has actually come to pass, there is another problem to be solved, that of replanting on this land, and 25,000

hectares is a very large area, comrades. For comparison's sake, let me say that last year we planted the greatest number of grape vines the republic has ever planted, on 25,000 hectares, and we do not have the right to leave this land bare for even one year now. The State Committee for Viticulture and Wine-Making and Comrade Yu. K. Rzayev, together with leaders of the grape-growing sovkhozes, must immediately submit proposals on how to do the replanting on these areas and how fast.

Vegetable growers are faced with important tasks, especially in the area of early vegetable growing. It is already the middle of January, and we have always set ourselves the task of obtaining the first early vegetable harvests in early April, or at least by mid-April, so as to provide Moscow, Leningrad and other cities of the central and northern regions of the country with them first. To do this, vegetable growers, especially in the southern zone, must work very seriously. Incidentally, favorable weather conditions must be used in the best way possible so as to obtain vegetables even earlier this year than in preceding years.

Comrades! The winter and spring must be used effectively to carry out all the tasks facing us in the area of stockraising. The CPSU Central Committee has set us the task of wintering livestock in an organized manner so that opportunities for increasing stockraising output during the winter of 1980-1981 can be used more fully. In this connection, a decree was adopted on developing stockraiser socialist competition for exemplary livestock wintering. The Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the republic Council of Ministers adopted a special decree apropos of this. The reference now is to organizing work locally and using the favorable opportunities provided by the mild winter to increase the production of stockraising output and in general to improve qualitative indicators for this branch as a whole. Stockraisers of Shemakhinskiy Rayon recently came forward with a good initiative. They obligated themselves to carry out the two-month plan for sales of stockraising output by the opening of the 26th CPSU Congress. We have supported that initiative and I think this and many other patriotic initiatives must receive broad dissemination among stockraisers of our republic.

I do not intend to dwell in detail on problems associated with stockraising, but wish only to say that 1981 must be a year of continued sharp improvement in stockraising productiveness, a year in which a solid feed base is created in our republic.

In the summer and fall, we often find feed is in short supply, sometimes in connection with the fact that fodder crops were not sown at the proper times, sometimes due to a shortage of seed in some places, and sometimes due to a lack of land. It is now, in January, I think, that we need to prepare and carry out all measures connected with the forthcoming sowing of fodder crops, with creating a good basis for obtaining high yields so as to have both sufficient amounts and sufficiently high-quality livestock feed in 1981.

Comrades, winter must be used effectively to repair equipment, to prepare it for spring and summer field work. Incidentally, there are also quite a few shortcomings in this area, and I think rayon and republic sel'khoztekhnika leaders must eliminate the existing shortcomings and take additional steps to improve their work.

The problem of providing agricultural crops with irrigation water this year is very important. The weather has not, to put it bluntly, turned out favorable. There is no snow in the mountains yet; it is dry, with no precipitation. In view of this,

the water level is low in our reservoirs this winter, below the summer level after we have used a considerable portion of the water. A serious situation has developed, in particular, at Mingechaurskiy Reservoir, where there is very little water, clearly insufficient water to either produce the electric power we need very much or use for irrigation. I do not want to dramatize the situation, although it is quite complex, but I do want you to know how things stand.

Based on the situation which has developed, we thought it necessary to adopt a special Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and republic Council of Ministers decree outlining all measures to accumulate sufficient water and to use it efficiently throughout the 1981 agricultural year.

It is your task, comrades, to ensure that each farm and each rayon consider additional measures in view of the unfavorable situation which has developed. Some snow will fall and some water will be added, of course, but based on the water shortage we are experiencing today, on 13 January, we can conclude that 1981 will be a year of very little water. Based on this, we must prepare ourselves for and take all necessary steps.

Major tasks face the Ministry of Reclamation and Water Management, the agriculture ministries as a whole, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in this connection. Each must determine its own practical steps with consideration of this situation.

Comrades, as concerns capital construction, I think the obligations we are adopting today will face construction workers with large, responsible tasks, and I should like to see these tasks being carried out from the very first days of 1981. Unfortunately, certain financial questions are again being decided slowly. As of 10 January, client ministries and departments had submitted to bank institutions only 60 percent of the documents stipulated in the finance plan and only 13 percent of those in the capital investment plan. Only 11 percent of the construction projects had been provided with title lists. I ask you, comrade ministers, a majority of whom are here today, how can you work that way? How much has to be said about this? You are the people responsible, you are state activists, comrades!

The USSR Council of Ministers decree sets 25 January as the last day for submitting all documents to financing organs. But as of now, the following have not submitted title lists: the ministries of trade, communications, higher and secondary special education, education, the Ministry of Industrial Construction itself, the ministries of oil refining and petrochemical industry, agriculture, motor transport, housing and municipal services, local industry, the State Committee for Viticulture and Wine-Making, the Nakhichevanskaya ASSR Council of Ministers, and the Kirovabad, Sumbait and Mingechaur city soviet ispolkoms.

Comrades must understand that the situation is aggravated by the fact that the work of contractor organizations and clients is being transferred to new conditions for calculating commodity construction output ready for operation this year. All this obligates us to organize things even better. I think we need to draw the most serious conclusions for all comrades.

Why do I react so sharply to these shortcomings? Because they conceal the start of all ills we will then experience in the area of capital construction. In fact, each of these elements is of very substantial importance to the successful implementation

of capital construction. And finally, there is plan discipline and state discipline, which all must carry out, and foremost our ministers.

Capital construction suffered very greatly last year from poor material and technical supply. Today, we must state that lumber stocks were utilized at a 68-percent level and metal stocks at a 90-percent level. That cannot but have an effect on capital construction results. I therefore think that the Gossnab and all supply organizations must restructure their own work from the very start, from the very first days of the new year, with consideration of the mistakes and miscalculations permitted last year and act so as to prevent a similar situation in 1981.

We know there are difficulties in metal supply and difficulties in getting timber, which we are receiving in inadequate amounts, but these resources do exist and, given better organization on the part of the Gossnab and other supply organizations, we can obtain them either in full or in any event in considerably greater amounts than last year. And as concerns the contractor construction organizations themselves, I hope the shortcomings permitted in 1980 will not, must not be permitted in 1981.

What has happened to housing construction in Baku? I spoke about this at the Baku City Party Conference, but I did not have these data at that time. The plan for putting housing into operation in Baku last year was 521,000 square meters, and comrades from the Baku Main Construction Administration and leaders of the Baku Party Committee and the Baku Soviet declared right along that that plan would be met. But Comrade Kulikov said in his speech at the conference that the state of readiness of the houses was such that they could not be released for occupancy even by the end of February. I then organized a check and sent leaders of the Baku Main Construction Administration and Baku Soviet, comrades from the Central Committee and Council of Ministers and the new leadership of the Baku Party Committee there. And it turned out that not one of the houses to have been released for occupancy in December could be released, because they were not ready.

How could our comrades have deceived us? Some 92,000 m^2 of housing which was to have been released to Baku residents in December were not released. I forbade the release of that housing to be credited to last year. We cannot permit that.

Both Baku Main Construction Administration workers and all leaders of contractor construction organizations must draw the proper conclusions from all this. We must build promptly and well; we must release projects for use on time and must not permit any half-formed intentions to deceive or such actions as the leaders of the city of Baku and leaders of the Baku Main Construction Administration wanted to take to get out of the situation.

We had a serious lag in housing construction in 1980, and I think construction workers, especially those in Baku, must release the 92,000 m^2 they are behind in the very first quarter of the new year and not transfer it to the second, third or fourth quarter. Construction must be done in a planned manner, so that housing is released each month and each quarter, so that plans and socialist obligations are met.

These are the questions I considered it necessary to touch on, as they require serious answers for us to ensure successful fulfillment of the 1981 socialist obligations.

I think today's discussion of the draft socialist obligations for 1981 is creating a good basis for meeting them successfully. In the name of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, I should like to express my complete confidence that all labor collectives and all party, soviet, trade-union and Komsomol organizations will make a maximum effort to ensure smooth work on carrying out the national economic plans from the very start of and throughout 1981 and that all socialist obligations will be successfully met. We are confident that the labor and patriotic initiatives of leading production workers in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party will be widely disseminated and that the working people of our republic will mark these remarkable events with major new accomplishments. (Stormy, prolonged applause)

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FOCUS ON PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING STRESSED BY SECRETARIAT MEMBER

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 4 Jan 81 p 2

[Article by Georgian CP CC Secretary Z. A. Chkheidze: "The Foundation of Steady Enhancement of Well-Being"]

[Text] The working people of our republic, along with all the Soviet people, are enthusiastically preparing a worthy welcome for the 26th CPSU Congress. The coming forum of the party of Lenin is to spell out the tasks of the building of Communism in the 11th Five-Year Plan, tasks stemming from the economic strategy of our party. This strategy calls for a steady improvement in the Soviet people's well-being.

In his speech at the October 1980 CPSU CC Plenum, L. I. Brezhnev presented a thorough analysis of our country's current situation, the results of the 10th Five-Year Plan, and the plan for the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan, and outlined the tasks facing the country during preparations for the congress. These tasks are spelled out in the CPSU CC's draft for the 26th CPSU Congress--"Basic Guidelines of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the period through 1990."

Clearly these tasks are more complex than previous ones, but they are realistic and completely feasible. The basis for this is the country's mighty economic and defense potential, science, and culture, created by the people under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Our country has achieved such a scale and level of social production, and the capabilities and resources of mature socialism have grown so much, that it is capable of successfully resolving the task of building the material-technical base of communism and achieving new triumphs in peaceful economic competition with capitalism and at the same time ensuring a steady rise in the working people's well-being. The new USSR Constitution states: "At the stage of developed socialist society, when socialism is already developing on its own basis, the creative powers of the new system and the advantages of the socialist way of life are becoming increasingly manifest; the working people are more and more broadly enjoying the fruits of the great revolutionary gains."

The 25th CPSU Congress spelled out the aim of the party's economic strategy: steady enhancement of the people's material and cultural standard of living. The economic strategy embodies the ways and means of achieving this goal.

The heart of the party's economic strategy, which underlies economic development in the 10th and the 11th five-year plans as well as the long-range future, is to further increase the country's economic might, to expand and thoroughly renovate our fixed productive capital, and ensure balanced growth of heavy industry, the basis of the economy. Thus, resolution of the tasks embodied in the party's economic strategy is based primarily on qualitative strengthening and perfecting of our country's economic potential.

The Soviet Union has enormous economic potential. Its national wealth exceeds 2.5 trillion rubles (not counting the value of land and forests). The basic component of this wealth is the economy's fixed capital, amounting to 1.638 billion rubles, of which the value of fixed productive capital comes to 1.076 billion rubles.

An organic component of the USSR's economic might is the economic potential of all the fraternal republics, including the Georgian SSR. Our republic accounts for 0.3 percent of the Soviet Union's territory, 1.91 percent of the population, and 1.45 percent of the national economy's fixed capital.

The prime element of our economic potential is labor, the professional training of our cadres, effective utilization of them. V. I. Lenin stated: "The prime productive force of all mankind is the worker, the working man." The higher the percentage of able-bodied workers in the population the greater the possibility of putting the economy's manpower to work and, consequently, the greater the country's economic potential. The average annual number of workers and employees in the republic's economy now stands at two million. Almost one out of every five has a higher and secondary specialized education. Every year about 270,000 workers and employees upgrade their qualifications.

In the country's economic potential, a key role is played by industry--the foundation of the socialist economy, the basis of the country's might, whose level and scale of development largely determine overall economic growth, enhanced well-being of the people, and strengthening of our country's defense capability.

Industry is the leading sector of our republic's economy. It accounts for more than two-fifths of the national income. In 1979 the republic had a gross output of 8,157,800,000 rubles. Some 1,103 enterprises, scientific-production associations, and combines are on independent budget [samostoyatel'nyy balans], of which 122 enterprises and scientific-production associations account for more than two-fifths of product sales [realizovannaya produktsiya].

Georgia's economic potential is also based on its multisector, highly intensive collective agriculture. A total of 690 kolkhozes, 471 sovkhozes, 739,000 hectares of sown land, 378,000 hectares of perennial plantings, more than 4.5 million head of livestock, 25,000 tractors, more than 1,700 grain combines, 24,000 trucks, and large amounts of farm machinery--these constitute the sector's productive potential. Last year Georgia's agriculture produced a gross output of 2.2 billion rubles.

The construction organizations and their productive capacity constitute a vital part of the economic potential. Capital investment and capital construction have resulted in the creation and growth of the republic's economic potential. Between 1921 and 1979, 26.5 billion rubles were invested in Georgia's economy. Some 25 billion rubles of fixed capital have gone into operation in the postwar period.

The years 1951 through 1978 alone saw the construction of 422 large-scale state industrial enterprises, many new trade and livestock complexes, farms, roads, homes, schools, hospitals, and so on. Thousands of people are now employed in construction. Construction's technical base comprises about 2,100 excavators, 140 scrapers, 1,457 bulldozers, 2,800 mobile cranes, and many other pieces of equipment.

Georgia's transport system consists of 1,420 km of fully electrified rail lines, 22,000 km of roads (more than 18,800 of which are paved), and well-developed sea, air, cable, and pipeline transport facilities.

Under present conditions, science is becoming an increasingly direct productive force in the scientific-technical revolution, a factor of economic progress, a vital component of the country's might. Our scientific-technical potential comprises several dozen scientific-research institutes and institutions of higher learning, where 25,000 scientists labor diligently, including 1,317 doctors and 8,866 candidates.

The Georgian SSR has a well-developed social infrastructure, sectors of the non-productive sphere (education, health care, housing and communal services, and so on) to ensure expanded reproduction and functioning of the work force.

Our republic's mighty economic potential has been created in the years of Soviet rule, in the fraternal family of Soviet peoples, as a result of implementing the party's Leninist nationality policy.

As has been stated many times in recent years, because of a number of factors our republic used to lag somewhat behind all-union figures in terms of economic, industrial, and agricultural development. If, for example, we take the all-union national per capital income in 1972 to be 100 (in actual prices), the figure for Georgia is 70.4. For industrial output the figure is 61.0, for agriculture 65.2.

The CPSU CC and the Soviet government have helped our republic a great deal in overcoming the lag. This is attested by the decrees passed in the 1970s with respect to the performance of the Georgian party organization and efforts to further develop the republic's economy as well as the systematic attention which the CPSU CC and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally have paid to our republic.

Georgia's party organization and all the working people have waged a principled struggle to implement the party's and government's decrees and accelerate the development of the republic's economy, to wipe out the negative phenomena in economic, political, and ideological life.

On the basis of a profoundly scientific and creative analysis of economic development, the GCP CC and the republic's Council of Ministers drew up a broad program to further develop the economy in the 10th Five-Year Plan and enhance the people's material and cultural well-being.

Making creative use of the CPSU's economic strategy and taking account of the republic's specific characteristics, the GCP CC mapped out the way to accelerate the growth of economic development in the 10th Five-Year Plan in accordance with generalized indicators, to achieve progressive shifts in the economy's sector structure, to improve the use of labor resources, and perfect the planning and administration of regional economies, and achieved considerable success in carrying out the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the 25th GCP Congress.

Along with other measures, the GCP CC since 1974 alone has passed 33 decrees concerning the economic and social development of individual regions of the republic. Implementation of these decrees is substantially accelerating the republic's overall economic growth.

We can say without exaggeration that Georgia's party organizations and all the working people have done their utmost to carry out this course of action, and considerable success has been achieved. This is attested by the results of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

An analysis of the fulfillment of Georgia's 1976-1980 economic and social development plan and the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan indicates that targets have been fulfilled with respect to all basic indicators. In terms of growth rates in the gross social product, national income, production output, and capital construction in basic sectors of the economy, our republic is running ahead of average all-union indicators. Georgia is playing a greater role in the USSR's economic potential. Between 1975 and 1979, the republic's share rose from 1.5 to 1.7 percent in the USSR's national income, 1.27 to 1.37 percent in industrial production, and 1.5 to 1.8 percent in agricultural production.

At the same time, the lag behind average union levels in per capita production volume gradually declined. In that time span the lag was reduced by 10.4 percent with respect to national income (in actual prices), 7.7 percent in industrial output, and 14.5 percent in agricultural production.

Despite these clear successes, it must be stated frankly that possibilities for accelerating economic development and enhancing the effectiveness of social production have yet to be fully utilized. There is unutilized capacity in practically every industrial sector; work time losses are too high; planning discipline needs to be strengthened. In short, there are still many unutilized reserves in our social production. Seeking them out and making maximum use of them is the prime task of all our party, soviet, Komsomol and trade union organizations. Fulfilling this task will enhance the republic's economic potential and increase its contribution to the further strengthening of our great homeland.

A well-developed economy and a powerful economic potential constitute the basis of a high standard of living for the working people and steady growth of the people's prosperity. This is the main goal of socialist production. New capabilities have been created under mature socialism to achieve this goal. They include a high level of development of social production, large-scale accumulation, and the introduction of scientific and technical advances into production.

Under the leadership of the Georgian Communist Party and along with all the Soviet people, our republic has achieved great success not only in economic but also social-cultural development and enhanced well-being. Georgia's dynamic economic development in the 10th Five-Year Plan created the possibility for carrying out the social programs drawn up by the 25th CPSU Congress and the 25th GCP Congress and for systematically enhancing the well-being of the working people.

Positive shifts along these lines began to take place after 1972, after the CPSU CC passed the well-known decree concerning the organizational and political work of the GCP Tbilisi Gorkom. Between 1973 and 1979, national income produced in the

Georgian SSR rose by 72.9 percent while the per capita figure rose by 61.6 percent; in the 7 previous years the respective figures were 49 and 39 percent.

These achievements in the economy brought about an increase in the consumption fund of the national income both in absolute and in per capita terms.

As is well known, the main component in the national income's consumption fund is the population's direct or personal consumption of material wealth. But an ever increasing role in meeting the people's material and cultural needs is being played by the social consumption funds. These provide for free schooling and retraining, medical services, welfare and pensions, scholarships, paid vacations, and free or subsidized stays in sanatoria and vacation homes. Compensation and benefits received by our republic's people from social consumption funds amounted to 447.5 million rubles in 1960 and 1,736,700 in 1979. In per capita terms, this indicator rose from 107.5 to 345.5 rubles in that period.

The consumption fund constitutes about 75 percent of the utilized national income; when housing and social-cultural construction is taken into account, 80 percent of the national income is spent directly on enhancing the working people's well-being.

In accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, wages and salaries were increased for workers in the nonproduction spheres, also for those engaged in coal and shale mining, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the textile industry, construction, agriculture, rail transport, and certain other sectors.

The following figures point up the closer link between the republic's accelerated economic development and the people's higher standard of living: between 1972 and 1979 the average annual number of workers and employees rose by 16.2 percent in the USSR overall, compared with 23.1 percent in the Georgian economy. The Georgian population's real income grew faster than the union average. Between 1973 and 1979 the USSR's per capita real income rose by 30 percent, while in Georgia it rose by 35 percent or more. The same tendency characterizes the growth of average monthly wages for workers and employees in the republic's economy, resulting in a decrease in the lag behind the all-union average. In 1975, average monthly wages for workers and employees in the Georgian national economy were 81.6 percent of the all-union figure. In particular, the figure was 86.3 percent for those employed in industry but only 62.5 percent for those in agriculture. In 1979 this lag was reduced by 2.5 percent overall, 4.9 percent in industry, and 10.9 percent in agriculture.

As a result of the social measures carried out by the party, the real income of kolkhozniks is now much closer to that of workers and employees. This is due to a faster rise in compensation paid to kolkhoz labor. Between 1961 and 1979, for example, average monthly wages for workers and employees in Georgia's national economy rose by 83 percent. Average monthly pay for kolkhoz labor rose 4.9 fold and amounted to 72 percent of the wages paid to workers and employees, versus 33.4 percent in 1960. In other words, the difference in monetary compensation levels has been dramatically reduced. The difference is made up to a large extent by income in kind from the social farms of the kolkhozes and the kolkhozniks' own personal plots.

Of great importance is the adoption of a unified system of guaranteed wages, pension, and social security for kolkhozniks. Enhancement of the people's material and cultural well-being is largely determined by the development of retail commodities turnover and improvement in its structure. As is well known, our republic still lags behind average union indicators in terms of per capital retail commodities turnover. It is only natural, therefore, that Georgia's party organization has stepped up efforts to overcome this lag.

A vital indicator of the people's standard of living is the provision of housing, also consumer services. Housing construction is always at the center of attention of the republic's party organization. Some 100,000 new dwellings were built in the first 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Some 546,000 people were given housing, including 405 thousand in new dwellings. At the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan, our republic lagged 8.5 percentage points behind the union average in terms of per capita consumer services. This lag has been completely wiped out.

Between 1976 and 1979, Georgia's light industry output rose by 32.4 percent, while the food industry output rose by 29 percent. Rapid growth also characterized the output of cultural, household, personal, and economic goods. Sales of highly nutritious food products and high-quality essential non-food goods to the public also rose steadily. In 1979 compared with 1975, the republic's population bought 19.4 percent more radios and phonographs, 5.7 percent more television sets, 30.1 percent more refrigerators, 40.2 percent more vacuum cleaners, and 15.2 percent more furniture.

Per capita food product consumption is rising year by year, and its structure is becoming more rational. In the first 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, per capita consumption of milk and dairy products rose by 8 percent, eggs by 18.3 percent, fruits and vegetables by 30.2 percent, fish and fish products by 2.9 percent, sugar by 10.0 percent, and vegetable oil by 23.7 percent.

Because social production and the population's real income have been rising faster than the all-union average, the republic's lag behind all-union average consumption norms (in per capita terms) declined between 1975 and 1979 as follows: 6.4 percent for milk and dairy products, 4.4 percent for eggs, 12.9 percent for fruits and vegetables, 2.4 percent for fish and fish products, and 6 percent for vegetable oil.

There is also a clear link between accelerated production growth rates and enhancement of the well-being of the working people.

Thus, the course of action taken by the GCP to accelerate the development of the republic's economy is not only solving the task of overcoming the lag behind all-union average indicators of economic development and increasing Georgia's contribution to the Soviet Union's potential--it is also the basis for resolving the most vital problems of social development and enhancement of the people's standard of living.

Of prime importance to the people's well-being is the matter of a better supply of food to the population. Although the production of farm goods has increased substantially as a result of the party's efforts, there are still many difficulties in supplying livestock products--in particular, meat and milk--to the cities and industrial centers.

Further economic development, strengthened labor incentive, stronger monetary circulation, and enhanced well-being all require substantial shifts in the production of consumer goods, in terms of quantity, quality, and assortment. At the October 1980 CPSU CC Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated: "It is no exaggeration to say that a rapid upsurge in the B group sectors is a task of prime economic and political importance."

It was pointed out at the October 1980 CPSU CC Plenum that in order to solve the problem as quickly as possible we will need to expand the production of consumer goods on the basis of a well thought out, long-term program coordinating all the sectors that are involved.

As is well known, for purposes of resolving the problem of supplying food to the population the CPSU CC Politburo made a decision to prepare a food program. The plan will encompass all sectors of agriculture and related industries, farm goods procurement, storage, transport, and processing, the food industry, and the food trade.

Republic-wide consumer goods and food programs are now being drawn up in accordance with the Georgian SSR's place and role in the all-union division of labor.

In the process of preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress and the 26th GCP Congress, the main parameters of Georgia's economic and social development in the 11th Five-Year Plan are being clarified; its tasks were already spelled out in CPSU CC Politburo Candidate-Member and GCP CC First Secretary Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze's address at the 22d (November) GCP CC Plenum. He stated: "We consider the main task of the Georgian SSR's economic and social development in 1981 to be that of further increasing the republic's contribution to the country's overall economic complex, enhancing the people's well-being on the basis of ensuring balanced and effective development of social production, perfecting the economy's sector structure, renovating and strengthening its material-technical base, accelerating scientific-technical progress, and making fuller use of Georgia's labor and production potential and natural and economic resources."

Georgia's party organization and all the republic's working people are preparing a worthy greeting for the 26th CPSU Congress and the 26th GCP Congress.

6854
CSO: 1813

POLTAVA OBLAST CONFERENCE NOTES SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN AGRICULTURE

Kiev RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 13 Jan 81 p 2

[Article by B. Sydorenko, O. Chernets'kyy, 'RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA' special correspondents: "Standard of Responsibility"]

[Excerpts] An important place in the report, and also in the appearances by first secretary of Karlivskiy Rayon party committee M.I. Slipchenko, tractor brigade leader at the kolkhoz imeni 21st CPSU Congress in Semenivskiy Rayon, Hero of Socialist Work V.O. Lychkovakh and others was devoted to the problem of agricultural intensification. At the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, indicated the report, the oblast was criticized for a low sugar beet harvest. Thanks to everyone's diligent work -- from party workers to beet growers -- the yield was raised to 80 quintals per hectare, and 2.3 million tons of sugar beets were sold to the state above the plan.

Regardless of complex weather conditions rural workers of the Poltava area increased the average yearly production of agricultural products in the last two years. However, the main speaker and others -- first secretary of Shyshanskiy Rayon party committee M.S. Slyn'ko, team leader at the kolkhoz "Mayak" in Orzhitskiy Rayon, Hero of Socialist Work A.D. Yurchenko and kolkhoz "Ukrayina" manager, Grebinkivskiy Rayon, H.M. Popovych directed their talks towards a critical channel. The oblast was unsuccessful in the procurement of grain, meat, milk, sunflowers, potatoes, vegetables and fruit. One of the reasons for this lack of success the speakers blamed on insufficient attention by party committees to increasing the general agricultural level, introduction of progressive technology and a more effective cost utilization.

Last year, stressed the report, the CC CPUk indicated that the party oblast committee is still not in sufficient control of the work and behavior of the leading ranks, does not always apply active timely measures to those who violate party and state discipline. The party oblast committee attempted to reorganize, and was concerned with the growth of criticism and self-criticism. Most city and rayon party committees began analyzing shortcomings more thoroughly, isolating the chief work directions, generalizing and spreading experience. However, as was self-critically stressed by the main speaker and others, a turn for the better has not been achieved everywhere, a surface approach to decisions, formalism and the commonplace may be observed in a number of party committees even now.

A critical current was felt during the conference. Secretaries, party committee section chiefs and deputy chairmen of oblast executive committees were subjected to fair cirticism in the report and discussions. Oblast executive committee deputy chairman M.A. Ohorodnyk and I.K. Shvets', oblast committee trade section chief were sharply criticized for insufficient control over the activity of subordinate workers who grossly misused their official position.

The problem of ideological and moral worker tempering was reviewed by the delegates with interest. The Hadyach Boarding School director, Hero of Socialist Work, M.K. Andriyevskyy, writer V.K. Sychenko (Malyk), and party committee secretary of the kolkhoz imeni Shevchenko, Mashivskiy Rayon, O.I. Ponomarenko told how the CC CPSU decision "On further improvement of ideological, political-educational work" intensified the party organization activity in worker education, and precipitated a new wave of creative energy.

Member of the CC CPUk Politbureau, first deputy chairman of the Ukr SSR Soviet of Ministers H.I. Vashchenko also spoke at the conference. He stated that the most fundamental characteristic of the present stage of development of our country, in the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan is the high political and worker enthusiasm of the Soviet people, a direction towards the future. Communists of our great fatherland are meeting the 26th CPSU Congress with a distinct program of action in close unity with the people.

Characterizing the results of the 10th Five-Year Plan in the country and in the republic, H.I. Vashchenko noted that the Poltava area workers also contributed quite a lot to the development of economy and culture within the oblast. New facilities have been put into effect for extracting iron ore, oil and gas, for the production of automobiles, electric motors, consumer goods, and the Dnepr mining-enriching combine was built ahead of time. Current yearly plans for industrial production have been fulfilled. Almost all of its increase was provided through a rise in work productivity. The five-year plan sale to the state of sugar beets, eggs and wool has been fulfilled. Planned construction of schools, nurseries and hospitals has been completed. Seventy-eight thousand families were assigned good housing.

Yet, remarked the speaker, there are still unutilized reserves in the oblast. The number of lagging enterprises has increased, production capabilities are utilized insufficiently including mechanized and automated assembly lines. Consequently many different products were not received in the oblast. The home building combine capabilities put into action back in 1977 are utilized very slowly. Through neglect, delay, absence from work allowed by the administration a lot of working time was lost. Many workers are occupied with manual work. There are many shortcomings in capital construction. During the five-year plan enough funds remained unused to build 3,500 additional apartments.

H.I. Vashchenko indicated that a promising foundation for intensive agriculture and livestock raising, for an increase in the economic effectiveness of the branch, has been established in the Poltava area. Kolkhoz-sovkhoz production now employs almost a third of communists and close to 14 thousand specialists. In the 10th Five-Year Plan more than a billion rubles were invested in the material-technical basis of oblast agriculture. Twelve thousand seven hundred tractors were received, 8.3 thousand trucks and 3.3 thousand combines. Thus everything was done to assure

success. Yet, the level of agricultural output production remains insufficient. If in the neighboring Kharkovskaya, Dnepropetrovskaya and Cherkasskaya Oblasts the grain harvest increased during the last few years, then in the Poltava area it remains the same or even decreases. The oblast did not provide the state with sufficient grain, potatoes and vegetables. Insufficient feed and protein imbalances led to cattle productivity decrease and eventually to unfulfilled plans in the sale of milk and meat to the state.

Noting that the party has focused its attention on an increase in peoples' prosperity, H.I. Vashchenko indicated that a lot has been done in the Poltava area. However, party organizations should work even more effectively in the future. The CC CPUk demands, he stressed, that first secretaries of party committees and chairmen of executive committees of local soviets of peoples' deputies pay personal attention to problems in enterprise and service organization work.

Working with the ranks the party oblast committee office sometimes permits haste, does not always provide essential help to comrades in more responsible areas. All is not well with the style of party apparatus activity. Often more energy is spent on preparing decisions than on the organization and their fulfillment. The oblast party committee should examine more closely the work content of city and rayon party committees trying to make sure that each of them acts as an organ of political leadership, creatively and with initiative.

At the end of his talk, H.I. Vashchenko expressed the certainty that communists and all oblast workers will serve the society with the unutilized reserves and will contribute worthily to fulfilling the tasks which will be set by the 26th CPSU Congress and the 26th CPUk Congress.

The delegates discussed and approved the CC CPSU plan for the 26th party congress "Basic directions for USSR economic and social development for 1981-1985 and the period up to 1990." A report about this was given by the oblast executive committee chairman H.Ya. Ustymenko. Following discussion suggestions were submitted directed towards the fulfillment of the tasks outlined by the party.

Approving unanimously the internal and external party politics, the productive CC CPSU activity headed by comrade L.I. Brezhnev, the political platform on which the party moves towards its 26th congress, conference delegates outlined measures which will aid in further improvement of organizational and educational work, improvements in all branches of national economy.

Participating in the conference were also the first deputy chief of the trade and consumer service section CC CPSU M.I. Bochkov and candidate to CC CPSU membership, chief editor of the 'SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA' paper, O.V. Romanov.

While in the Poltava area, Politbureau CC CPUk member, first deputy chairman Ukr SSR Soviet of Ministers H.I. Vashchenko visited a number of worker collectives, met with workers, kolkhoz members and intelligentsia. He visited the "Komunar" Lubenskiy factory, the Kremenchug automobile factory imeni 50 Years of Soviet Ukraine, stopped in worker dining rooms, in trade and popular city institutions; he visited kolkhoz imeni Ivanenko, Mirgorodskiy Rayon, "Mayak Komunizmu", Novosanzharskiy Rayon, and "Ukrayina" in Mashivskiy Rayon, the sovkhoz imeni Shevchenko in

Poltavskiy Rayon where he showed interest in the life, work and living conditions of livestock raisers, machine operators and rural intelligentsia. N.I. Vashchenko also visited the Mirgorod resort.

In his travels through the oblast N.I. Vashchenko was accompanied by the first secretary of the CPUk oblast committee F.T. Morhun and the chairman of the oblast executive committee N.Ya. Ustymenko.

9443
CSO: 1811

ARMENIA: PROBLEMS IN FEED PRODUCTION, STOCKRAISING, FARM MECHANIZATION

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 9 Dec 80 p 3

/Article: "A Winter Test for the Farm"/

/Text/ The republic's farms have all put the communal herds onto winter-nursing maintenance.

The republic-level staff headquarters for agricultural operations has summed up the results of a check-up on the course of the the communal herd's wintering. It has noted that the appropriate ministries and departments, Party raykoms, and ispolkoms of the Rayon Soviets of People's Deputies have carried out their specific operations with regard to providing for the communal herd's winter period and fulfilling the 1980 plan tasks with regard to the production and procurement of animal husbandry products, as well as improving the quality of such products. The farms of the Abovyanskiy, Razdanskiy, Gukasyanskiy, and Nairiyskiy Rayons, and the city of Dilizhan have ensured a smooth operation with regard to feeding and maintaining the livestock, increasing the output production of animal husbandry, as well as that of feed-preparation plants. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes have stored up a sufficient quantity of feeds, repaired areas for cattle, mechanized labor-consuming processes on farms, and created normal conditions for livestock maintenance.

At the same time the staff headquarters noted that the Ministries of Agriculture, Procurement, Goskomsel'khoztekhnika, the Aykoop Administration, a number of Party raykoms and raysovet ispolkoms, as well as farm directors have still not implemented a complex of measures with regard to the successful wintering of the communal herd.

Quite a few operations remain to be done during the present winter period. In comparison with last year the head of livestock has increased. Moreover, as a result of this year's extremely unfavorable weather conditions, specific difficulties were created in guaranteeing proper feed production. The accumulation of the planned amount of coarse and rich feeds has not been provided. A top-priority task for all farm workers is to take all measures to make efficient use of the coarse and rich feeds which have been accumulated, as well as the concentrated feeds which are on hand or being distributed, and to achieve a high level of compensation for every feed unit.

An important potential for increasing the efficiency of using feeds is the production of mixes made of straw, silage, fodder-type root vegetables, concentrated feeds, plus protein, mineral, vitamin, and other substances. Feed-production

plants are of decisive importance in this plan. There are now more than 200 such plants in operation on the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes. By means of rationally utilizing these capacities we can increase the efficiency of feeds by one-fourth. However, if the feed-production plants are being utilized most effectively in the Kalininskiy, Razdanskiy, Stepanavanskiy, and Echmiadzinskiy Rayons, the same cannot be said about the Martuninskiy, Yekhegnadorskiy, and Akhuryanskiy Rayons, where a number of feed-production plants are idle. Many farms which have feed-production plants at their disposal limit themselves merely to a simple, mechanical processing of the feeds, without introducing effective methods of chemical or biological processing of the feeds.

An important condition for the specific fulfillment of the shortage which has been formed in the proportion of bulk feeds is the introduction on farms of the method of ensilaging straw. This method, which allows the nutrition and feed suitability of straw to be almost doubled, is being introduced at a rapid pace in the Sisianskiy, Spitakskiy, Krasnosel'skiy, Talinskiy, and Vardenisskiy Rayons. However, in the Amasiyskiy, Kafanskiy, Martuninskiy, and Tumanyanskiy Rayons these operations are being delayed.

/The farm directors and specialists must pay serious attention to speeding up operations on heating and repairing buildings, as well as problems of a precise and uninterrupted supply of water and electricity./ [in boldface]

Moreover, on a number of farms in the Aragatskiy, Amasiyskiy, Masisskiy, and Oktemberyanskiy Rayons the repair of buildings used for livestock raising is being carried out too slowly, while individual farms in the Martuninskiy, Vardenisskiy, Artikskiy, and Talinskiy Rayons have not been provided with water.

Neither the appropriate organizations of Goskomsel'khoztekhnika nor the Aykoop administration are rendering sufficient aid to farms in obtaining the necessary implements and equipment, in setting up and adjusting the continuous operation of mechanized lines and units, in providing farms with smaller equipment--specialized work clothes, buckets, milkers, electrical instruments, etc.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Goskomsel'khoztekhnika, as well as the Party, Soviet, and economic organs of individual rayons are not concerned enough with problems of comprehensive farm mechanization. The degree of comprehensive mechanization of areas for livestock amounts to 18.8 percent, while in the Artikskiy, Gorisskiy, Azizbekovskiy, Shamshadinskiy, Aragatskiy, and Artashatskiy Rayons it is even lower--ranging from 2.1 to 8.6 percent.

The directors and specialists at a number of farms do not manifest any initiative for introducing new, advanced technology with regard to livestock maintenance. The winter-nursing maintenance of heifers, which are to provide cows for the herd, is still not at the level which it should be, and, as a result of this, the period of their growing up and preparation for milking is delayed by 10--14 months.

In accordance with this year's plan, the Ministry of Rural Construction was to have completed for operation cow sheds, calf pens, and sheep pens with a total of 11,450 places. By 1 November, however, cow sheds with spaces for only 2,000 had been turned over for operation. And the Ministry of Industrial Construction had put into operation areas for livestock with only 953 spaces instead of 3,670. It

is the fault of the above-mentioned ministries that the introduction of a number of dairy complexes has been threatened.

The Ministry of Agriculture, the ispolkoms of raysovets of people's deputies, and farm directors frequently do not pay attention to building the necessary areas for livestock. As a result of this, many farms are lacking in calf pens.

It is necessary to increase the responsibility of the personnel staffs, to establish thoroughgoing controls over the operations of the middle link, the operating procedures on the farms, as well as the constant performance of production technology and professional services. We need to achieve a situation whereby the decisive sectors of production will recruit careful workers who know their business.

On a number of farms the reading rooms [recreation centers] are formal in nature, while in certain places they are lacking.

/The successful wintering of cattle, the ensuring of high livestock productivity during the nursing period is a matter of honor for the workers on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, as well as for specialists.

In these days a number of the republic's groups have come out with new, patriotic initiatives. After proceeding to resolve the complex and large-scale problems of the current wintering of livestock, they have decided to make a successful finish to the concluding year of the 10th Five-Year Plan and by the opening day of the 26th Congress of the CPSU to report the fulfillment of the assignments for the first quarter of 1981 with regard to the procurement of livestock-raising products.

The republic's livestock-raising workers must mobilize their efforts in order to complete the 10th Five-Year Plan with high indicators and to celebrate the 26th Congress of the CPSU with new, patriotic deeds./ [in boldface]

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